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notes

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Reðes ond Hattres, *Beowulf* 2523

	'Nolde ic sweord beran,
wæpen to wyrme,	gif ic wiste hu
wið ðam aglæcean	elles meahte
gylpe wiðgripan,	swa ic gio wið Grendle dyde;
ac ic ðær heaðufyres	hates wene,
reðes ond hattres;	forðon ic me on hafu
bord ond byrnan.	(2518b-2524a)

There has never been much doubt about the MS. reading of the on-verse in line 2523 of *Beowulf*. All words are clearly visible in Zupitza's facsimile edition¹ and the two Thorkelin transcriptions agree with this.² Eduard Sievers³ once suggested that the scribe intended a correction by placing a cancellation dot over the *h* of *hattres*, but his suggestion has not been accepted by editors.⁴ However, as a short review of the scholarship devoted to this line will show, most editors, translators, and commentators have felt the line to be defective and have emended.

The changes began with Grundtvig who translated *hattres* as "Ed-

¹ Early English Text Society, no. 77.

² Kemp Malone, *The Thorkelin Transcriptions of Beowulf in Facsimile* (Copenhagen, London, and Baltimore, 1951).

³ *ZfdPh*, XXI (1889), 355, 361.

⁴ See R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf with the Finnsburg Fragment* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 126n.

derstromme."⁵ Kemble, although he gave the MS. reading in Vol. I of his edition, followed Grundtvig in Vol. II by translating "fierce and poisonous," changing *hattres* to *attres*, and saying "the alliteration is on Ic, not hafu."⁶ This emendation was accepted in translations by Ettmüller⁷ and Wackerbarth.⁸ The next alteration was *oreðes*, "breath," for *reðes* made by Grein.⁹ Of editions and translations published since Grein, twenty-four out of twenty-nine checked have accepted both emendations. Simrock¹⁰ and Thorpe¹¹ accept only the first; Heyne accepts neither, reading "reðes and hattres" and glossing "der wilden eindringenden Hitze."¹² Harrison and Sharp adopt Heyne's text and gloss "fierce, penetrating heat."¹³ Hall translates loosely from the Heyne-Socin text.¹⁴ In addition, Holthausen once suggested *reces* for *reðes* but failed to make the change in even his own editions.¹⁵

Various arguments supporting these emendations have been advanced. Sievers' statement, referred to above, concerning the cancellation dot was intended as such. To this he added the belief that "die alliteration ist vocal auf vocal, und dass das erste nomen einer halbzeile notwendig die alliteration haben muss, durfte doch jetzt nichtmehr bestritten werden. . . ." ¹⁶ A. S. Cook found a source for the emended line in the writings of Aldhelm.¹⁷ Johannes Hoops wrote that "Feuriger Atem und Gift galten allgemein als charakteristische Eigenschaften der Drachen."¹⁸ Finally, several editors find support in the use of the same words in 2557, 2715, and 2839.

⁵ N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Bjowulfs Drape* (Copenhagen, 1820).

⁶ John M. Kemble, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburh*, Vol. I (London, 1837).

⁷ Ludwig Ettmüller, *Beowulf, Heldengedicht des achten Jahrhunderts* (Zürich, 1840).

⁸ A. D. Wackerbarth, *Beowulf, Translated into English Verse* (London, 1849).

⁹ C. W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Vol. I (Göttingen, 1857).

¹⁰ Karl Simrock, *Beowulf* (Stuttgart, 1859).

¹¹ Benjamin Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Scop or Glee-man's Tale, and the Fight at Finnesburg* (Oxford, 1899), 3rd ed.

¹² Moritz Heyne, *Beowulf* (Paderborn, 1873), 3rd ed.

¹³ James A. Harrison and Robert Sharpe, *Beowulf, an Anglo-Saxon Poem; the Fight at Finnsburh, a Fragment* (Boston, 1883).

¹⁴ John Lesslie Hall, *Beowulf, an Anglo-Saxon Epic Poem* (Boston, 1892).

¹⁵ Ferdinand Holthausen, *Anglia Beiblatt*, x (1899), 269.

¹⁶ P. 361.

¹⁷ "Aldhelm and the Source of Beowulf 2523," *MLN*, XL (1925), 141. See Klaeber's well known edition of *Beowulf*, p. 215, and Johannes Hoops, *Beowulfstudien, Anglistische Forschungen*, LXXIV (1932), 126, on this.

¹⁸ *Kommentar zum Beowulf* (Heidelberg, 1932), p. 268.

Hoops referred to the emendations as "allgemein angenommen,"¹⁹ and the tradition of their acceptance was strong enough to cause E. V. K. Dobbie to state that these readings "are required by sense and alliteration" without further explanation.²⁰ However, the line may be quite sensibly read as it was written, nor is there any lack of evidence to show that there has never been any reason for emending on metrical grounds.

Of the two words which have been changed, *hattres* is the one which causes difficulty. I would read this word as the genitive singular of a masculine ja-stem noun *hat(e)re* meaning "hater" formed from the verb *hatian* "to hate." It is true that the *N. E. D.* gives no example of "hater" earlier than 1382, but there is ample evidence to prove that this method of noun formation was quite productive very early in English.²¹ Also, there can hardly be any objection to the form of *hattres* in this meaning. In the Rushworth Gospels, c. 975, *riftrum* and *riftra* are found in Matthew 13, 30 and 13, 39, and *sceacrum* appears in Mark 15, 7. MS. 178 CCCC, dating from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, contains *drefre* "disturber."²² *Spilra* is found in MS. 326 CCCC from the tenth century.²³ Another tenth century example, *mæpre*, is found in British Museum MS. Harleian 3376.²⁴ Best²⁵ and Bosworth-Toller list *ehtre* "persecutor" but give no reference. In an eleventh century gloss on Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis*, Bodleian Library MS. Digby 146, the forms *galdras*, *galdra*, and *galdrum* appear;²⁶ *galdras* is also found in an early eleventh century MS. of the same work,²⁷ and in MS. Royal 5. E. xi from the same century.²⁸ *Galre* is attested twice in MS. Royal 6. A. vi and once in MS. Royal 5. E. xi.²⁹ MS. Digby 146 contains *gliwra*.³⁰ The form *byrþres*, gen. sg. of *byrþ(e)re*

¹⁹ *Kommentar zum Beowulf*, p. 268.

²⁰ *Beowulf and Judith* (New York, 1953), p. 247.

²¹ See Karl Best, *Die Persönlichen Konkreta des Altenglischen nach ihren Suffixen geordnet* (Strassburg, 1905), paragraph 7.

²² A. Schröder, *Die Angelsächsische Prosabearbeitung der Benedictinerregel* (Kassel, 1888), p. 121, 12.

²³ A. S. Napier, *Old English Glosses, Anecdota Oxoniensia Mediaeval and Modern Series*, XI (1900), p. 151, 18.

²⁴ Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd edition edited by R. P. Wülcker (London, 1884), Vol. I, col. 235, 3.

²⁵ *Die Persönlichen Konkreta*, p. 20.

²⁶ Napier, pp. 60, 2239; 108, 4068; 110, 4193.

²⁷ H. Logeman, "New Aldhelm Glosses," *Anglia*, XIII (1891), 36, 244.

²⁸ Napier, p. 168, 245.

²⁹ Napier, pp. 161; 240; 162, 308; 167, 179.

³⁰ Napier, p. 110, 4165.

"bearer" occurs in an eleventh century MS.³¹ Forms of *cwelre* are found in MS. Boulogne 189,³² from the early eleventh century, and in line 204 of "The Judgement Day II" from the late eleventh century MS. 201 CCCC.³³ *Riftre* is attested four times in the eleventh century.³⁴ Finally, *spilre* is found in the gen. pl. in MS. Digby 146 and in MS. Royal 6. B. vii which dates from the early twelfth century.³⁵ Although the syncopated form of the *nomen agentis*, particularly of an original short stem, is rare in Old English, the examples given should prove beyond a reasonable doubt that such forms were found around the time of the *Beowulf* MS. The doubling of a consonant before *r* is well attested in Old English,³⁶ and this was particularly the case when the consonant was *t* or *d*.³⁷ The passage may then be translated

I would not carry a sword, a weapon, against the serpent if I knew how otherwise I would grapple proudly with the monster, as I did formerly against Grendel; but there I should expect hot battle-fire, I should expect a fierce one, a hater; therefore, I have shield and coat of mail on me.

This reading is further supported by lines 2318-2319 where we learn that "the destroyer hated and harmed the people of the Geats." One who has hated may certainly be later designated a "hater." Evidence of this last sort is not too weighty, but it is worth at least as much as the citations of a similar nature which have been adduced in favor of the emendations.

Since the line as written alliterates (the on-verse and the off-verse are bound by a single occurrence in each of the stave *h*), it is difficult to understand why the alliteration necessitates emendation. Sievers' opinion quoted above concerning the placement of alliteration in the half-line is not tenable. The trouble, then, must lie with the position of *hafu* in the second half-line.

³¹ B. Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of Aelfric* (London, 1844-46), Vol. I, p. 210, l. 16.

³² Alfred Holder, "Die Bouloneser Angelsächsischen Glossen zu Prudentius," *Germania*, Neue Reihe, XI (1878), 393, 72.

³³ E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York, 1942), p. 64.

³⁴ Hans Hecht, *Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 316, 1-3; and Thomas Wright, Vol. I, cols. 445, 18; 477, 19 from MS. Cotton, Cleopatra A III.

³⁵ Napier, pp. 19, 679; 139, 12.



³⁶ Joseph and Elizabeth Mary Wright, *Old English Grammar* (London, 1914), para. 260: "Consonants were doubled during the OE. period before a following *r* or *l*, with shortening of a preceding long vowel or diphthong. . . ."



³⁷ Thus, *hattres* < *hatres* < *hateres*.



In an article entitled "Lift Patterns in Old English Verse," Kemp Malone says:



The rhythm of Old English verse grew naturally out of the prose rhythm, by a process of heightening and lowering. A metrically heightened syllable may be called a *lift* (German *hebung*); a metrically lowered syllable may be called a drop (German *senkung*). The lifts in a line of verse regularly coincided with syllables which would (or might) take stress if the line were read as prose.³⁸



Malone then presents examples of a number of patterns and demonstrates that the alliterating syllable of the b-half of the line may be preceded by a stress. In view of this, those who accept Malone's method of reading Old English poetry will not emend for metrical reasons alone. However, for those who prefer a more rigid and complicated metric scheme such as that of Pope³⁹ further discussion will be necessary.

Pope accepts the usual emendation to *oreðes ond attres* and places the first half-line under Type A1-7 scanning |  |  |.⁴⁰ Unemended this half-line is a perfect example of Type A3-66 which

scans |  |  |.⁴¹ Pope places 2523b under Type C2-28 scanning

|  |  |.⁴² Accepting the emendations in the a-half, this particular scansion is necessary because either *ic* or *on* has to alliterate,⁴³ but rejecting the emendations, the stress falls on *hafu* and this scansion is impossible. However, it is now exactly parallel to 503a (*forþon þe he ne uþe*) which Pope scans

 |  |⁴⁴ and may be scanned the same way. But I would adopt Malone's stress pattern for 503a⁴⁵ and would read both

|  |  |. This would create an additional pattern for Type A3 half lines. I conclude that it is not necessary to emend because of alliteration, stress pattern, or rhythm.

³⁸ *ELH*, VIII (1941), 79.

³⁹ John Collins Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1942).

⁴⁰ Pp. 250-51.

⁴¹ Pp. 264-65. Pope offers fifty-one examples of this type half-line with alliteration on the second stress alone.

⁴² P. 355.

⁴³ Pope, unlike Kemble, chooses *on*, perhaps because it alliterates in another line while *ic* doesn't. However, it seems more likely that *ic* would receive a natural stress here.

⁴⁴ P. 270, Type A3-90.

⁴⁵ P. 79.

The sum and plausibility of all the evidence cause me to reject the emendations. The line as it was written is perhaps not as satisfying to the modern reader as it might be, but the responsibility of the scholar is to try to understand the text as transmitted, and emendation in a poem such as *Beowulf* seems justified in only two cases: when a passage makes absolutely no sense, and when the one essential of form, *i. e.*, at least one occurrence of the alliterative stave in each half-line, is absent.

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The Rawlinson Version of *Theophilus*

Three versions of the miracle of the Virgin of *Theophilus* have come down to us in Middle English: that of *The South English Legendary* (late thirteenth century), that of *The North English Homily Collection* (early fourteenth century), and that of MS. Rawlinson Poetry 225 of the Bodleian Library, copied in the second half of the fifteenth century. The two earlier versions follow the traditional account of the miracle. The third differs from tradition so considerably that its source presents an interesting problem to scholars.

Briefly, the traditional story is this. Theophilus, archdeacon of Adana (near Tarsus), is beloved by all for his humility, generosity, and wisdom. Upon the death of the bishop, he is chosen successor. Feeling unworthy of the honor, he refuses, despite the pleas of people, clergy, and pope. Another is chosen in his stead, who, regarding Theophilus as a dangerous enemy, ruins him. Falling prey to regret, Theophilus consults a wizard, who teaches him to bargain with the devil. He signs a contract, exchanging his soul for the return of his worldly honors. The devil is true to the bargain, but Theophilus soon realizes what he has done. In despair of obtaining forgiveness from God, he turns to the Virgin Mary for help. She not only obtains pardon from God; she goes down to hell and forces the devil to give back the contract. Theophilus makes public confession of his sins, and dies in peace.

In contrast to this study of spiritual pride and its consequences, the Rawlinson poem seems little concerned with the tragic circumstances of the fall of Theophilus, or with the moral implications of the tale. The poem begins,

Listenyth, bothe grete and smale:
 I wil 3ow tellen a litel tale
 Of Tyofle the fre.
 Erchedekne he was yplyzt,
 Wyse clerk and a man of myzt,
 And riche of gold and fee.
 Curtes he was and large, ywis,
 Festis to maken with men of pris
 And 3yftes to 3even.
 Also he rod on his jolifte,
 He spak al of his dygnete,
 How wel that he was threven:

"Ful wel is that ilke man
 That welthe hath and wisdam can,
 In blysse for to leven.
 He may the folk wissen and techen.
 He may hem helpen and lechen.
 He may hem lenen and 3even.
 Be myself I it say,
 Ther I go in the wey,
 Therof I have gret thouzt;
 For wysdam I have mekel wele
 Of wordelis good and 3iftis fele.
 No thing fayles me nouzt.

.....
 Swilk dignete I have nomen
 That I am erchedeken now becomen.
 Tiofle is my name.
 So large and curteis I schal ben
 Ther is no man that me schal sen
 Of me schal sayn no schame.
 Now wil I walken on my pleyeng.
 Ne dred I nothir duk, ne kyng,
 Erel, knyzt, baron, ne bonde.
 Wherso I go, wherso I be,
 Al wordelis blysse folwis me
 In every kynges londe."

(1-24; 37-48)

After this bombastic introduction, Theophilus meets with a sudden
 reversal of fortune, for we read without more ado,

Forth hym wente this clerk, ywis,
 With mekel joy and mekel blis,
 But in a litel stounde
 Al his wisdam and his good,

Ryzt as doth the salte flood,
It sanc down to grounde.

(49-54)

This is indeed a strange travesty of a familiar and profoundly spiritual tale.

Wilhelm Heuser, who was the first to edit this poem, observed that the author made extensive use of dialogue, often without connecting text. He concluded from this that the source may have been a miracle-play of Theophilus, perhaps that of the trouvère Rutebeuf, who wrote in the dialect of the Ile-de-France between 1254 and 1285.¹ Indeed, there are several points of similarity between the works mentioned. In both, Theophilus is made to narrate all that we are supposed to know about the circumstances of his fall from grace. In both, the contract with the devil, is signed in blood, a motif once thought to have been added to the legend by Rutebeuf himself. The two versions of the tale end on a similar note. The following lines occur in the conclusion of the Middle English poem:

O thu Blessid Moder and Lady swete,
With al myn herte I wil the grete
And preysen the among.
I am ever worthy to loven the
In Goddis name, and of the
Syngen I wille a song:
Te Deum laudamus!

(631-637)

Rutebeuf uses substantially the same words:

Issi ouvra icil preudom.
Delivré l'a tout a bandon
La Dieu ancele;
Marie, la virge pucele,
Delivré l'a de tel querele.
Chantons tuit por ceste novele;
Or, levez sus;
Disons: *Te Deum Laudamus!*

(656-663)²

On the surface, at least, there would seem to be some connection between Rutebeuf's play and the English poem.

Karl Plenzat, however, has explained in his study of the legend that these similarities are commonplaces in the many versions of the

¹ "Eine neue mittenglische Version der Theophilussaga," *Englische Studien*, xxxii (1903), 2-3.

² *Le miracle de Théophile*, ed. Grace Frank, Paris, 1949, p. 26.

miracle of *Theophilus*.³ As he observes, there is no intrinsic similarity in the handling of the narrative.⁴ He maintains, nevertheless, the same opinion as Heuser expressed: namely, that the abundance of dialogue is indicative of some debt to a play, and it is obvious that neither he nor Heuser attached enough importance to the metrical form of the poem, which invites the reader to understand it as a tail-rime romance.

Here, I think, we have a better explanation of the Rawlinson poet's treatment of the miracle of *Theophilus*. A complete list of the literary conventions of the tail-rime romances may be found in A. M. Trownce's paper on that subject.⁵ Our poem contains a goodly number of them: the bid for the reader's attention in the first stanza, the catalogue-like description of the hero's accomplishments, the use of a wide range of stereotyped phrases proper to the genre, and the frequent use of direct discourse without introduction—the element which led Heuser and Plenzat to look for a dramatic original. Nor can we overlook the presence of a familiar theme among the tail-rime romances, the "other world" adventure in which the hero is sought out by some denizen of fairy-land, for we read,

Tiofle wex paal of hew,
For he nolde nouzt the Jew hym knew.
Fro hym he wold hym hide.

(103-105)

Thus, *Theophilus* is sought out by the necromancer, as a representative of the "other world," like many a hero of the tail-rime romances satirized by Chaucer in *Sir Thopas*.

While it would be fruitless to seek proof that the poet did not know Rutebeuf's play, or that no miracle-play influenced the composition of the miracle of the Virgin of *Theophilus* in MS. Rawlinson Poetry 225, it is not necessary to look beyond the metrical form for an explanation of the poet's adaptation of the legend. In my opinion, the poet was interested in the adventure, not in the moral, and he edited the traditional miracle of the Virgin to fit a popular narrative form.

The University of Texas

BEVERLY BOYD

³ "Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters," *Germanische Studien*, XLIII (1926), 88.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ "The English Tail-Rime Romances," *Medium Aevum*, I (1932), 87-108, 168-182.

The Two Mayings in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale"

In Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" there are two May observance passages. The first of these is purely narrative and descriptive, as is an account of the poet's own May observance in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*.¹ The other passage in "The Knight's Tale" contains, in addition, a brief snatch of May song, three lines in length, which is sung by Arcite.

Rather early in the tale the poet pictures Emelye, fairer than the lily and "fresher than the May with floures newe,"² coming into a garden:

She was arisen and al redy dight;
For May wole have no slogardie a-nyght.
The sesoun priketh every gentil herte,
And maketh hym out of his slep to sterte,
And seith "Arys, and do thyn observaunce."³

Walking up and down through the garden she gathers "floures, party white and rede," with which to make a garland for her hair. Her maying is sober in nature and confined to her garden, the kind of observance one might expect of a maiden of noble lineage and respectable, even strict, upbringing:

The maying of Arcite (Arcita), on the other hand, coming somewhat later in the tale, is the more familiar sort in which groups of people go to the woods to gather branches of hawthorn.⁴

The bisy larke, messenger of day,
Salueth in hir song the morwe gray,

¹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), p. 568a. Text F, lines 33-43. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

² Line 1037. Cf. Chaucer's May simile with reference to the squire, line 92 of the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*: "He was as fressh as is the month of May." This conventional simile lasted into the sixteenth century and beyond: "My maiden Isabel / . . . The freshest flower of May" (lines 4, 18 of Skelton's "To Mistress Isabell Pennell"); "My love is fair, my love is gay, / As fresh as bin the flowers in May," sings Oenone in Peele's song beginning "Fair and fair, and twice so fair" (*The Arraignement of Paris*).

³ Lines 1041-45, p. 31. Cf. Pandarus, speaking to Troilus in *Troilus and Criseyde*, II, lines 111-112, "And lat us don to May som observaunce."

⁴ An illustration of a group of noblemen riding forth in the spring, with one youth cutting off branches of a tree with his sword, and another snapping off branches by hand, occurs in a fourteenth-century *Book of Hours* (see *Les Heures de Turin*, Paris, 1902, under "May"), according to Henry Savage, "Arcite's Maying," *MLN*, LV (1940), 207-209.

And firy Phebus riseth up so bright
 That al the orient laugheth of the light,
 And with his stremes dryeth in the greves
 The silver drops hangynge on the leves.
 And Arcita, that in the court roial
 With Theseus is squier principal,
 Is risen and looketh on the myrie day.
 And for to doon his observaunce to May.

He mounts his courser, rides away from the court into the fields a mile or two, and enters a grove where he intends to make a garland of "wodebynde or hawethorn leves." He sings this song:

' May, with alle thy floures and thy grene,
 Welcome be thou, faire, fresshe May,
 In hope that I som grene gete may.'⁵

There is not much to the song, and it is not distinguished metrically from its narrative setting; perhaps the poet merely paraphrased a song that he knew, or perhaps this one was intended to be incomplete. At any rate, here for the first time in Chaucer's verse a May lyric became at least partially separated from the narrative background, thus setting a precedent for the two slightly longer May songs in *The Kingis Quair* of James I of Scotland written early in the next century.⁶ This separation recalls to mind one in an Old French romance of earlier date, *Guillaume de Dole*. In the romance, however, a group of middle class townspeople, and not persons of noble birth, participate in the maying, bringing their "may" (white hawthorn boughs) from the woods early in the morning in order to decorate houses with it and singing a six-line May song recorded by the author of the romance.⁷ Also the song in *Guillaume de Dole* does vary metrically from its narrative setting. Arcite, like Emelye, indulges in his maying alone, and we observe him singing as he rides and seeking hawthorn or woodbine leaves for a garland before he falls into a somber meditation, interrupted by the sudden appearance of Palamon.

The custom of making garlands in spring and summer is an ancient one, perpetuated in pastoral literature especially. The practice may

⁵ Lines 1491-1512, p. 36. *Greves*, groves (boughs).

⁶ *The Kingis Quair*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Scot. Text Soc., 1911), stanzas 34, 65.

⁷ *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. G. Servois (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1893), p. 125, lines 4145-59. The entire scene extends from lines 4141-65.

have originally had some ritual significance probably forgotten by the time it was first alluded to in extant literature. Certainly the custom of gathering hawthorn boughs in the woods and decorating doors and porches of houses and churches is thought by numerous folklorists and anthropologists to have had its origin in ancient fertility rites.⁸

The Arcite passage contains references to the lark and to Phoebus, each encountered rather frequently in subsequent May lyrics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hawthorn is mentioned for the first time in English May verse, with Arcite intending to weave a garland from it as Emelye did from her red and white flowers. The Chaucerian expression "to do observance to May," contained in both passages, is also new, persisting into the Elizabethan period, as seen when Shakespeare's Lysander says to Hermia (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 173-78):

If thou lov'st me, then
Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night;
And in the wood, a league without the town,
(Where I did meet thee once with Helena,
To do observance to the morn of May)
There will I stay for thee.

No one apparently has suggested a source for these two May observances. In Boccaccio's *Teseide*, on which "The Knight's Tale" was closely modeled, there is a passage in which Emilia comes into the garden singing and fashions a garland, but there is no reference to a May observance whatsoever.⁹ Nor is there any incident in the *Teseide* which parallels Arcite's maying.¹⁰ In Boccaccio's poem Palamon, having escaped from prison and received weapons from a friend, encounters Arcite sleeping in the woods outside Athens and waits for him to awaken before he engages him in a duel.

⁸ See, for example, Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art* (Pt. I of *The Golden Bough*), 3rd ed. (London, 1911-15), II, chaps. ix and x and especially p. 59. "Trees and Plants," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1908-27), XII, 453. "Branches and Twigs," *ibid.*, II, 831, 832. For a contradictory point of view on origins see C. W. von Sydow, "The Mannhardtian Theories about the Last Sheaf and the Fertility Demons from a Modern Critical Point of View," *Folk-Lore*, XLV (1934), 291-309. The custom itself is described in A. R. Wright, *British Calendar Customs: England*, ed. T. E. Lones (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1936-40), II, 201-205, 209-212; and under "May" in older works such as William Hone's *The Every-Day Book*, John Brand's *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, Robert Chambers' *The Book of Days*, T. F. Thiselton Dyer's *British Popular Customs*, and others.

⁹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Teseide*, ed. Salvatore Battaglia (Firenze, 1938), pt. III, stanzas 8-10, pp. 80-81.

¹⁰ Cf. *Teseide*, v, 33-76.

Hubertis M. Cummings, in a detailed study of the relationship between Chaucer's and Boccaccio's poems, concluded that there was far more realism and less pseudo-classicism in "The Knight's Tale," and that by virtue of his modifications Chaucer made his version a thoroughly English poem.¹¹ That Chaucer's poem is the more realistic cannot be questioned, but if it is also quite English, the May observances certainly are not in themselves indications of an exclusively English spirit. May settings and delight in the coming of May appear in countless *trouvère* and *minnesinger* lyrics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹² as well as in the *Roman de la Rose*, the May passage of which was included in the portion translated by Chaucer.¹³ And among Chaucer's French contemporaries Deschamps and Froissart gave the month some attention. In several *balades* Deschamps pays homage to "O tres soulz may" and "li doulx May,"¹⁴ although the tone in most of his May poems is usually a plaintive one of the unrequited love, derived from the *chanson courtoise*. This plaintive tone appears less frequently, if at all, in Froissart's May passages, his joy in the month resembling that of Chaucer. Indeed his *Un Trettié Amourous à la Loenge dou Joli Mois de May*¹⁵ has long been recognized as a source of Chaucer's Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, though Chaucer, curiously enough, never adopted the English equivalent of "joli mois de may"—"merry month of May."¹⁶ Finally, we have already noted a maying expedition to the woods depicted in the *Guillaume de Dole*. There are likely others in Old French literature as well. Hence, although Chaucer's May pas-

¹¹ *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio*, Univ. of Cincinnati Studies, x, 2 (Cincinnati, 1916), chap. vi, especially p. 146.

¹² Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (Leipzig, 1870): II, 8, 22, 49, 58, 62, 71, 74, 78, 83, 91, 99, 105, 106, 113, 114; III, 23, 24, 29, 41, 47. Karl Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter*, 8th ed. (Berlin, 1928), pp. 119, 134, 139, 175, 325, 354, 366, etc.

¹³ Lines 51-86, pp. 664-665.

¹⁴ Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire et Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1878-1903), III, 3 and 222, ccxvi and ccxcix.

¹⁵ Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart: Poésies*, ed. August Scheler (Bruxelles, 1870-72), II, 194-208.

¹⁶ That the phrase may have been familiar in England before the Elizabethan period is evident by similar phrases in medieval verse romances. See line 1709 of *Arthour and Merlin* (ca. 1250-1300): "Miri time it is in May" (*'Arthour and Merlin' nach der Auchinleck-MS.*, etc., ed. Eugen Kölbing [Leipzig, 1890], p. 50); and line 27 of the Thornton MS of *Tomas Off Erasedoune* (ca. 1430-40): "In a mery mornynge of Maye" (*The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceledoune*, ed. James A. H. Murray, EETS, O. S. 61 [London, 1875], p. 2).

sages in "The Knight's Tale" owe little or nothing to an Italian source, they may have been influenced by French sources, though the derivation seems to be more from an entire literary tradition than from any particular author. On the other hand, we cannot discount the fact that so keen an observer of human nature and behavior as Chaucer would be aware of the May day observances among all ranks of society that were so prevalent during the Middle Ages. His May scenes are apparently seen through English eyes acquainted with French literary tradition.

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The First *Explicit* in Malory's *Morte Darthur*

To a very great extent Eugène Vinaver has made his "separate tales" theory of Malory's *Morte Darthur* depend upon a series of *explicit*s, which, "mostly deleted by Caxton," occur only in the Winchester Manuscript and seem to Vinaver clearly to divide the book "into several different works."¹ According to Vinaver, the first of these *explicit*s is "the most significant of all," for "in it the author bids farewell to the reader and disclaims any intention of writing another Arthurian romance."² Vinaver's reading of this first *explicit*, however, seems to me an extremely dubious one; for the passage involved, together with any number of other evidences in the opening section of Malory's work, suggests strongly that Malory intended to write not only "another Arthurian romance," but a whole series of them, which, connected, would furnish a comprehensive and unified account of the Arthurian legend. The *explicit* in question reads as follows:

HERE ENDYTH THIS TALE, AS THE FREYNSCHE BOOKE SEYTH,
FRO THE MARYAGE OF KYNGE UTHUR UNTO KYNGE ARTHURE
THAT REGNED AFTIR HYM AND DED MANY BATAYLES.

AND THIS BOOKE ENDYTH WHEREAS SIR LAUNCELOT AND
SIR TRYSTRAMS COM TO COURTE. WHO THAT WOLL MAKE ONY
MORE LETE HYM SEKE OTHER BOOKIS OF KYNGE ARTHURE OR

¹ This theory led Vinaver to abandon the usual designation of Malory's work and to title his edition of the Winchester manuscript *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (hereafter *Works*), Oxford (1947), 3 vols. (pagination continuous).

² *Works*, I, xxx.

OF SIR LAUNCELOT OR OF SIR TRYSTRAMES; FOR THIS WAS
DRAWYN BY A KNYGHT PRESONER, SIR THOMAS MALLEORÉ, THAT
GOD SENDE HYM GOOD RECOVER. AMEN.

EXPLICIT ^a

It has apparently gone without notice that the paragraphing of the foregoing passage is Vinaver's rather than that of the Winchester manuscript.⁴ The habits of medieval scribes with respect to paragraphing were obviously not always what we might wish them to have been; but judging from the manuscript, it seems to me that the first three lines of the passage quoted above were clearly intended to be read as a part of the text of Malory's "tale," and that the *explicit* itself, according to the scribe's deliberate indentation of it on the page, consists properly of only the last six lines. This is an important distinction, for the three lines which, as I see it, are in reality a part of Malory's text describe fairly accurately what has taken place in the story up to this point, whereas the following six lines do not; thus the "booke" which Malory refers to in the *explicit* proper (the last six lines) is probably intended to mean not his own work, but the version of his source—the "freynsche booke" mentioned in the first line above. In other words, the action that has taken place thus far in Malory's story may roughly be summed up as having occurred during the time intervening "fro the maryage of Kyng Uther unto Kyng Arthure that regned aftir hym and ded many batayles," but we have by no means reached the point in the story "whereas Sir Launcelot and Sir Trystrams com to courte." Indeed, if we may judge by Merlin's prophecy that the "chylde yonge Launcelot shall within this twenty yere revenge [his parents] on kyng Claudus,"⁵ Lancelot's coming to court will take place somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty years after the point at which this first major part of the *Morte Darthur* leaves off.

Malory concludes the first large section of his work, then, with the words, "here endyth this tale, as the freynsche booke seyth. . . ." We do not know precisely the manuscript that served as his source for this first section, but it, too, is likely to have ended approximately the

^a *Works*, I, 180. The words beginning "who that woll make any more" present a separate problem concerning Malory's intent. R. M. Lumiansky considers this "the key sentence" of the passage, and concludes that "rather than showing Malory as disclaiming any intention of writing more, this *explicit* points in exactly the opposite direction" ("The Question of Unity in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Tulane Studies in English*, v [1955], 29-39).

⁴ See the manuscript facsimile facing p. xiv of Vinaver's *Works* (vol. I).

⁵ *Works*, I, 126.

same segment of its story in approximately the same manner—"cy finit le conte": the phrase is common enough in all of the Old French romances. Unfortunately, the Huth *Merlin*—the closest French version we have to this first part of Malory's work—breaks off slightly before Malory's version does;⁶ but the *Merlin* section of the usual French cyclic Arthuriad carries the story up to a point some time later than the arrival of Lancelot at Arthur's court—then the cycle turns to a prose version of the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, and finally to a prose *Lancelot*, this last incorporating an account of the death of Arthur. At the place where the Huth manuscript breaks off we are told:

Si laisse ore a tant li contes a parler et de la dame et del roi et de tout la vie Merlin, et devisera d'une autre matiere qui parole dou graal, pour chou que c'est li commenchemens de ceste livre.⁷

Lancelot has not yet arrived at court in the Huth *Merlin*; presumably he would have done so near the beginning of the following section—that part of the cycle which "devisera d'une autre matiere qui parole dou graal." The important point, at any rate, and one of which I think we may be reasonably certain, is that in saying "this booke endyth whereas Sir Launcelot and Sir Trystrames com to courte," Malory has reference not to his own work, but to the "booke" of *Merlin* which served as his source; thus the only intention he "disclaims" in his first *explicit* is that of following this particular source any further. Moreover, since Tristram plays no significant part in any of the extant cyclic versions of the Arthurian story, Malory is likely to have added Tristram's name to this first *explicit* in deliberate anticipation of his later incorporation of the *Tristan* material into his "hoole booke of Kynge Arthure and of his noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table."

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⁶ See Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich (edd.), *Merlin, roman en prose du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1886 (*SATF*), II, 254.

⁷ *Ibid.*

The Genesis of Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*

For some time there has been a question regarding George Chapman's initial inspiration for writing *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*. The play's hero, Clermont D'Ambois, never existed. "In reality there was neither revenger nor revenge for the murder of Bussy.¹ But the center portion of the play was based on a historical incident translated from the French by Edward Grimeston and for this reason Dr. F. S. Boas felt that "Grimeston's volume was Chapman's inspiring source."² Opposed to this is the view of Prof. T. Marc Parrott who held that *The Revenge* was a result of Chapman's "having determined to write a sequel to his successful play of *Bussy*, and to give it the form of a revenge tragedy."³

Subsequent critics apparently have agreed with either the Boas or the Parrott explanation of the play's origin. To anyone familiar with the play, however, neither of them is very convincing. It is not a "revenge" play nor a play about a historical character, but a "full-length portrait of the stoical man."⁴ This would indicate that a character embodying the stoic philosophy probably gave Chapman his original idea for the play.

Count D'Auvergne, on whose capture that of Clermont D'Ambois was based, had been a friend of Byron and Chapman included him in his Byron plays under his own name. The interesting thing to note is that in these plays D'Auvergne emerges as a thoroughly stoic figure and his Stoicism is too obvious to be accidental. So far as I know this has not been brought out before, but it may well be that the Count's character in the Byron plays is the key to the genesis of *The Revenge*.

We are here concerned with the Count as he appears not in the episode retold in *The Revenge* but in the conspiracy and arrest of Byron. In Grimeston's account of this there are only a few references to D'Auvergne, but these are revealing. It is reported that when Byron went to visit Queen Elizabeth, "The Count of Auvergne was

¹ George Chapman, *The Poems and Plays of George Chapman, The Tragedies*, ed. by T. Marc Parrott, London, 1910, p. 571.

² George Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. by Frederick S. Boas, Boston, 1905, p. xxxiv.

³ Parrott, p. 572.

⁴ John William Weiler, *George Chapman; The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies*, New York, 1949, p. 81.

there as an unknown, but his quality discovered him."⁵ Something of this quality was revealed when the Count, at the time of his capture with Byron, was asked for his sword. "Hold, take it said the Count, it hath never killed any but wild boares, if thou hadest advertised mee of this, I had beene in bed and a sleepe two houres since."⁶ Another clue to his quality is the statement comparing his attitude with Byron's when they entered prison. "The Duke of Biron going in the boat seemed heavy and pensive. The Count of Auvergne was merry and Dined. The Duke of Biron entered into the Bastille as into a grave. The Count of Auvergne went as to the Louvre and imagined that the place where he should be, could not be a prison."⁷ Chapman incorporated these two references in his play, though in the case of the latter I think his account is somewhat less charming than the original. There is one other noteworthy mention of the Count in the source. He and Byron were great friends and just before Byron died he sent word to D'Auvergne "that he went to die without grieve, but for the loss of his friendship."⁸

Of course, D'Auvergne was not presented in Grimeston as an example of Stoicism, but the statements quoted do indicate that he had certain stoic traits; namely: a rational approach to adversity, equanimity in the face of danger, a calm acceptance of the inevitable and a strong sense of friendship and personal loyalty. Chapman took these hints and added the touches needed to make the Count a real stoic. In *The Conspiracy* Chapman twice has him prevent Byron from using force. "O hold, my lord; for my sake, mighty spirit," D'Auvergne says at V, i, 157.⁹ He restrains him again at V, ii, 29. On several occasions he urges Byron to be moderate and reasonable: V, i, 38-39 and V, i, 52 in *The Conspiracy* and I, ii, 47 in *The Tragedy of Byron*. He demonstrates the stoic ideal of friendship in two speeches: III, i, 49-52 of *The Tragedy* and V, i, 50-51 of *The Conspiracy*, where he says to Byron, "I am your friend, my lord, and will deserve that name, with following any course you take". Though a minor character in the plays, it is evident that Chapman wished to portray D'Auvergne as a genuine stoic.

Heretofore it has been assumed that Chapman chose the D'Auvergne

⁵ Edward Grimeston, *A General Inventorie of the Historie of France*, London, 1607, p. 945.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 969.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 971.

⁸ Grimeston, p. 989.

⁹ All line references are to the Parrott edition.

capture for the central episode in *The Revenge* because of its plot value, but in view of his preconceived notion of the Count it seems more likely that he chose it because of its hero's character. To be sure, Chapman would not have used the D'Auvergne story solely on the basis of character values: it suited his purposes from a plot standpoint as well and this was a happy coincidence. Also, it cannot be denied that the play is cast in a revenge framework. But the fact remains that *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* is primarily a play of theme and character. The original idea for a play is generally induced by the author's chief purpose in writing it. In *The Revenge* Chapman wanted, above all else, to present a dramatic hero exemplifying the stoic philosophy in which he had become absorbed. In looking for such a man is it unreasonable to assume that his thoughts turned first to the Count D'Auvergne of the Byron plays and that this character is the prototype of Clermont D'Ambois and, hence, the "inspiring source" of *The Revenge*?

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Pope's *Imitations of Horace* and the Ethical Focus

The whirligig of taste has for some time now allowed criticism to speak of the rhetoric of a poem with no disapprobation intended. Studies of structure, motivation, technique have all benefited from the rhetorical approach to certain kinds of poetry; satire, obviously enough, has been given special attention. One of the most rewarding of rhetorical investigations of satire centers around the ethical appeal: the establishment of the orator's character, which Aristotle lists as the first of the three requirements of persuasive address.¹ Alexander Pope's use of this device is particularly impressive, for the ethical appeal is part of his entire critical program, and not simply an added element in single satires. In this program of establishing himself as a judge of morality, and consequently as a satirist not a slanderer, we can list the concluding lines in *An Essay on Criticism* where Pope equates the critic and the good man (and, by implication, himself and the good man); the opening lines of the *Essay on Man*;² his

¹ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1356a.

² Cf. R. E. Hughes, "Pope's *Essay on Man*: The Rhetorical Structure of Epistle I," *MLN*, LXX (March, 1955), 177-181.

appeal to character references in *The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (ll. 135-144)³ and in the second dialogue of the *Epilogue to the Satires* (ll. 77-93); direct statements of his integrity such as the lines "Ask you what provocation I have had? / The strong antipathy of good to bad" (*Epilogue to the Satires*, dialogue II, ll. 197-98); his letters, carefully prepared for publication and full of protestations of moderation and clemency; those notes to the *Dunciad* which justify particular attacks, such as that on Dennis (note to l. 104, Bk. I, *Dunciad Variorum*) and on Curll (note to l. 54, Bk. II, *Dunciad Variorum*); and very specifically, his choice of Horatian satires and epistles to be imitated.⁴

These *Imitations of Horace* provide a fine example of the care Pope took throughout his writings to present himself in the best possible terms and thus to provide himself with both an attack and a defense. Changes in locale and setting he of course made in these imitations; additions he certainly allowed, often of a flattering nature. These we expect of an imitation, held only to the spirit and not the letter of the law. But there is another class of changes, quite ingenious and quite revealing of Pope's ethical defense of himself and his satire; changes which re-direct Horace's intention and give an ethical focus which the original did not have.

In the first satire of Horace's second book,⁵ these lines appear:

Me pedibus delectat claudere verba
 Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
 Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 credebat libris, neque si male cesserat usquam
 decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit, ut omnis
 votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
 vita senis.

(ll. 28-34)

³ Cf. Elder Olson, "Rhetoric and the appreciation of Pope," *MP*, xxxvii (1939), 13-35.

⁴ The exception to Pope's wise choice of epistles and satires to be imitated is the second satire of the first book, the rather scandalous "Sober Advice from Horace," a plea for circumspectness in adultery. Pope was embarrassed by the satire, and attempted to repudiate it. See John Butt's introduction to *Imitations of Horace* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1953), p. xxv.

⁵ References to Horace will be taken from John C. Rolfe's revised edition of the *Satires and Epistles* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1942) rather than from the Latin text which Pope had included in his editions. The reason for slighting Pope's text is made clearer in the course of this paper: he did not hesitate to make discreet omissions when Horace would not serve his turn. Quotations from Pope's imitations are taken from the Twickenham edition, *Imitations of Horace*, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1953).

Pope's rendering of these lines is:

I love to pour out all myself, as plain
As downright *Shippen*, or as old *Montagne*.
In them, as certain to be lov'd as seen,
The Soul stood forth, nor kept a Thought within;
In me what Spots (for Spots I have) appear,
Will prove at least the Medium must be clear.

(ll. 51-56)

Barring proper names, the sense of Pope's lines is substantially Horace's, with one exception. Horace credits Lucilius with the virtue of candor; Pope applies that virtue to himself. This transfer of Lucilius' graces to himself becomes a constant factor in the poem. Horace writes:

cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis.

(ll. 62-65)

Pope allows Lucilius' daring to be his own:

arm'd for *Virtue* when I point the pen,
Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men.
Dash the proud Gamester in his gilded Car,
Bare the mean Heart that lurks beneath a Star.

(ll. 105-108)

Horace praises Lucilius for letting his righteousness strike both high and low:

Atqui
primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.

(ll. 68-70)

Pope gives himself that credit:

Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave.
TO VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND.

(ll. 119-121)

Horace attests to Lucilius' recognizable worth by showing him sought out by great men:

Quin ubi se a vulgo et scaena in secreta remorant
virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,

nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
decoqueretur holus, soliti.

(ll. 71-74)

Pope shows himself in that position:

Know, all the distant Din that World can keep
Rolls o'er my *Grotto*, and but soothes my Sleep.
There, my Retreat the best companions grace,
Chiefs, out of War, and Statesmen, out of Place.
There, *St. John* mingles with my friendly Bowl,
The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:
And He, whose Lightning pierc'd th' Iberian Lines,
Now, forms my Quincunx, and now ranks my Vines,
Or tames the Genius of the stubborn Plain,
Almost as quickly, as he conquer'd *Spain*.

(ll. 123-132)

The same procedure of transferring virtue appears in the second satire of the second book. In Horace's version, the doctrine of the golden mean is ascribed to Ofellus:

Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
iudice.

(ll. 53-54)

But Pope speaks the rule in his own voice:

Between Excess and Famine lies a mean,
Plain, but not sordid, tho' not splendid, clean.

(ll. 47-48)

Pope revises the concluding lines of Horace's satire, again with an eye to the ethical focus. Horace tells the story of Ofellus, the man deprived of much but content with little: "Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum / integris opibus novi non latius usum / quam nunc accisis" and develops this theme in ll. 114-136. Pope drops the character of Ofellus, and tells the story of himself in ll. 133-180, "In Forest planted by a Father's hand . . . Content with little."

In the first epistle of Horace's first book, a similar change occurs early. While speaking of himself, Horace admits that his way of life has not always been consistent, and he remarks:

nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor.

(l. 18)

The word *furtim*, though it may be semi-ironic, is still deliberate; for the Aristippian philosophy was based on hedonism. So Horace accuses himself of relapsing. Pope's version is quite different.

Sometimes, with *Aristippus*, or *St. Paul*,
Indulge my Candor, and grow all to all.

(ll. 31-32)

The softening of the Aristippus allusion with an allusion to St. Paul, and the suppression of *furtim* in favor of *Candor*, leaves us with quite a different portrait of Pope than Horace had given of himself.

In the seventh epistle of the first book, Pope's re-direction of Horace's intention works two ways. Not only does he focus Horace's praise of someone else onto himself, but he makes a politic deletion. Horace's lines are:

Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixi:
'Non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae;
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
Parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma,
sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelles Tarentum.

(ll. 40-45)

Here, part of the praise for moderation and content is given to Telemachus. Pope's Latin text omits the first four lines of this passage; the imitation then expands the thought of Horace's last two lines but borrows touches from the suppressed portion. Thus, the commendation is given entirely to Pope himself:

Extremely ready to resign
All that may make me none of mine.
South-sea Subscriptions take who please,
Leave me but Liberty and Ease.
'Twas what I said to Craggs and Child,
Who prais'd my Modesty, and smil'd.
Give me, I cry'd, (enough for me)
My Bread, and Independency!
So bought an Annual Rent or two.
And liv'd—just as you see I do;
Near fifty, and without a Wife,
I can trust that sinking Fund, my life.
Can I retrench? Yes, mighty well,
Shrink back to my Paternal Cell,
A little House, with Trees a-row,
And like its Master, very low,
There dy'd my Father, no man's Debtor,
And there I'll die, nor worse nor better.

(ll. 63-80)

These changes which Pope makes in the *Imitations* ought, for the light they shed on an important part of his satiric technique, to be counted among the larger appeals he makes in other satires and epistles.

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Scriptural Parody in Canto I of *The Castle of Indolence*

When the "wicked wight" makes his appeal to the pilgrims in Canto I of *The Castle of Indolence*, it should not go unnoticed that he employs a stratagem well calculated to ensnare the innocent and virtuous: he clothes his appeal in phrases and tones reminiscent of Holy Scripture. Artistically, this is a natural thing for him to do, for the theme with which the poem begins, and which, in a general way, it develops throughout the first canto, is the Temptation and Fall of Man:

O mortal man, who livest here by toil,
Do not complain of this thy hard estate;
That like an emmet thou must ever moil
Is a sad sentence of an ancient date. . . .¹

The Scriptural source of the theme is more specifically recalled in stanza XI, where Indolence exclaims,

Outcast of Nature, man! the wretched thrall
Of bitter-dropping sweat, of sweltry pain,
Of cares that eat away thy heart with gall,
And of the vices, an inhuman train. . . .

The wizard has in mind the curse recorded in Genesis 3: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. . . ." ² Except as the poem tends, after the capture of the pilgrims, to find its center of gravity in the emulation of Spenser, the action of the entire first canto may be regarded as parodying the Biblical account of the Fall.³ The

¹ Quotations from the poem follow the Oxford Edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*, ed. J. Logie Robertson, 1908.

² Verse 19. Cf. also verses 14-18.

³ The Biblical source is almost certainly augmented by Milton.

Scriptural parody frames the more obvious Spenserian core of the canto, which begins with an allusion to the curse placed upon fallen man by God and a mock dramatization of the temptation, and ends with a scene ("A place here was, deep, dreary, under ground": stanza LXXIII) suggestive of hell.⁴ It shall not be surprising, then, to find the tempter Indolence using for his ends God's own Words as his prototype had used God's own Works.

The wizard's opening words set in motion the echoes intended to beguile the pilgrims and render their conquest a triumph of malicious irony:

Behold! ye pilgrims of this earth, behold!
See all but man with unearned pleasure gay.
See her bright robes the butterfly unfold

.

What youthful bride can equal her array?

The pilgrims hear the words of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: / And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." And they hear them again in the wizard's next verse:

Behold the merry minstrels of the morn

.

They neither plough nor sow; ne, fit for flail,
E'er to the barn the nodding sheaves they drove;
Yet theirs each harvest dancing in the gale. . . .

"Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns. . . ."⁵ The fact that Christ is illustrating the lesson that "where your treasure is, there will be your heart also," is an ironic residue which, presumably, will elude the pilgrims, but not the reader, who will see in it the key to the absurdity of their predicament.

It has already been noted how, in stanza XI, the wizard alludes to the account of the Fall in Genesis. This prepares the way for the compelling lines of stanza XII, where Indolence invites the weary to let him comfort them:

Come ye, who still the cumbrous load of life
Push hard up hill; but, as the farthest steep

⁴ It is to be noted that the last four stanzas, where this hell takes on a classical Underworld coloration, were added by Armstrong.

⁵ Matthew 6: 28-29, 26.

You trust to gain, and put an end to strife,
 Down thunders back the stone with mighty sweep,
 And hurls your labours to the valley deep,
 Forever vain: come, and withouten fee
 I in oblivion will your sorrows steep,
 Your cares, your toils; will steep you in a sea
 Of full delight: O come, ye weary wights, to me!

These lines are a brilliant expansion⁶ of Christ's compassionate invitation: "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."⁷ The disguise is almost perfect, too, for if the reader is quite honest, he will acknowledge that the wizard's appeal at this point seems actually Christlike, and that, for a moment at least, the poet (through his wizard, and wizardry) has succeeded in lulling even his sophisticated suspicions and creating in him some thing like a sense of deep gratefulness to that "wicked wight." This is certainly what the wight wanted the pilgrims to feel. That he almost succeeds with his reader as well is a testimony to the genius of the poet who so sensitively conceived the means.

Indolence resumes the strategy of innocence by association in the final part of his song. Although the pilgrims would hardly be expected to catch more than the faint echo (which would be enough), it is difficult for the reader to follow the stanza beginning "What, what is virtue but repose of mind?" without recalling, with the fullest sense of their difference, the words of Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."⁸ The difference in the standards merely serves to generate an irony which makes the pilgrims' surrender the more grotesque.

⁶ The expansion, which employs the Sisyphus and Lethe allusions, should not be allowed to obscure the more important containing parody. It is significant that Thomson himself has filtered these allusions through the style and diction of *Paradise Lost*, which gives back the Biblical echo. Cf. the line, "Down thunders back the stone with mighty sweep."

⁷ Matthew 11: 28. For the reader the parodic recall will extend to the next two verses also, which lend an added, ironical pertinence to this particular allusion: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. / For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." The pilgrims might also be supposed to have made this further recall, though the irony of it would have missed them.

⁸ Philippians 4: 8.

Fittingly, the peroration intensifies the recall:

O grievous folly! to heap up estate,
Losing the days you see beneath the sun;
When, sudden, comes blind unrelenting fate,
And gives the untasted portion you have won
With ruthless toil, and many a wretch undone,
To those who mock you gone to Pluto's reign,
There with sad ghosts to pine, and shadows dun:
But sure it is of vanities most vain,
To toil for what you here untoiling may obtain.

Here, embellished with mythological allusion and thinly veiled sarcasm, is the appeal of the Psalmist: "Surely every man worketh in a vain shew: surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them."⁹ And the next to last line of the song is a mocking recall of the familiar verse in Ecclesiastes: "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity."¹⁰ This, in the mouth of Indolence, is both inducement and indictment, but his victims recognize only the former. "The deep vibrations of his witching song" draw in "pell-mell, the listening throng."

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Hopkins' *The Windhover*: A Further Simplification

In "Hopkins' 'The Windhover': A New Simplification" [*MLN*, LXVI (1951), 366-369], Frederick L. Gwynn rightly emphasized the primacy of the falcon-image in both octave and sestet of this puzzling sonnet, and so pointed a way out of the confusion which has characterized most discussion of the poem to the possibility of a coherent interpretation. The present note proposes, therefore, (1) to suggest a reference for a simile—generally ignored—which by amplifying the central image of the falcon affords further simplification with heightened unity in the image-fabric of the poem, and (2)—by projecting the formal implications of the central image along with its

⁹ Psalms 39: 6.

¹⁰ Ecclesiastes 12: 8.

supporting images—to comment on the apparent meaning and structure of the sonnet.¹

I

As Gwynn said, in the octave of the sonnet the falcon is presented in flight preparatory to a dive on prey in the sestet, and this preliminary flight involves three stages: (1) hovering, and so “riding / Of the rolling level . . . steady air,” (2) ringing in a spiral climb “upon the rein of a wimpling wing,” and (3) gliding “off, off forth on swing, / As a skate’s heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend. . . .” The customary assumption is that the “skate’s heel” here (line 6) refers to the hinder part of the steel runner by which people glide on ice,² although there are so few apparent similarities in form, movement, or function between the falcon and such a skate, that the allusion—so read—is diffusive in direction and effect, and results in obscuring the otherwise clear image of the falcon and its movement.³ But several considerations argue the possibility that we may have in “skate” no allusion to any sporting instrument of any kind, but a term of long, continued, and general use about the British Isles which specifies a fish of the family of rays (*raja batis*).⁴

Like the falcon, this fish—related to the shark—is a predacious species, of course.⁵ Of more specific relevance, however, is the fact

¹ For convenient bibliography of interpretations up to his time, see Raymond V. Schoder, “What Does *The Windhover* Mean?” in *Immortal Diamond: Studies in Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Norman Weyand (New York, 1949), pp. 277-282. Since Schoder, in addition to Gwynn’s article, see Geoffrey H. Hartman, *The Unmediated Vision* (New Haven, 1954), pp. 49-67, and Archibald A. Hill, “An Analysis of *The Windhover*: An Experiment in Structural Method,” *PMLA*, LXX (1955), 968-978.

² Schoder (p. 292) speaks of “a skater sweeping powerfully yet easily around in smooth curves, while the *heel* of the skate scrapes up a spray of ice flakes”; Bernard Kelley, *The Mind and Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (London, 1935), n. p., refers to “the bending flight of the skater and the smooth skim of ice”; Arthur Mizener, “Victorian Hopkins,” in *Gerard Manley Hopkins by the Kenyon Critics* (Norfolk [Conn.], 1945), p. 112, refers to “the skate sweeping, tense against the hard ice, in a smooth curve,” while Hartman (p. 50) interprets the allusion as being one of “skating or taking a curve.”

³ This becomes evident in the comment of Herbert M. McLuhan, “The Analogical Mirrors,” in *Kenyon Critics* (above), p. 22, who says that “The skate on ice image shifts the point of view. . . .” Kelley, n. p., speaks of the “absurd suggestion (our fault, our own absurdity) of an angler landing a fish on a rod bent double” which results from juxtaposition of “skate” and “bow-bend.”

⁴ See OED, s. v. “skate,” sb.¹.

⁵ See J. Travis Jenkins, *The Fishes of the British Isles* (London, 1925), p. 335.

that the fish is markedly bird-like in physical form; its rhomboidal outline—⁶ somewhat like a broad kite with a short tail, and with lateral fins of such extraordinary size and shape that they are customarily called “wings”—⁷ makes the resemblance to birds so notable that various rays (Flapper Skate, Cuckoo Ray, and Eagle Ray, for instance) take their names from this resemblance.

But Hopkins calls attention particularly to the action or movement of the falcon, which “As a skate’s heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend . . .”—and in this respect the fish is even more strikingly hawk-like. So the skate moves by means of a series of “wave-like movements”⁸ or “undulating motions”⁹ (in the falcon Hopkins describes this motion as “wimpling,” line 4) of its wings so much like the exertions of a bird in flight that the Eagle-Ray, as its name suggests, is said to fly rather than swim in the water.¹⁰ The zoölogists say that skates scanning the sea-bottom for prey may be seen “lying motionless or gliding like ghosts,”¹¹ or “at the surface . . . mov[ing] along comparatively slowly, turning the body from one side to the other,”¹² or “[swimming] about in graceful curves.”¹³ These are patterns which suggest the characteristic hovering, gliding, and circling of the hawk, as reported by Hopkins; but it is perhaps even more impressive—remembering the dive of the windhover in the sestet of Hopkins’ poem—that the skate characteristically swoops down and envelops its victim in its wings¹⁴ so much in the manner of the falcon that it can be described by one zoölogist as capturing food “by darting down upon it somewhat like a hawk descends upon a rodent.”¹⁵

⁶ See H. H. Newman, *Vertebrate Zoölogy* (New York, 1920), p. 123.

⁷ For examples of the use of this term by specialists, see Newman, pp. 124, 125; J. R. Norman and F. C. Fraser, *Field Book of Giant Fishes* (New York, 1949), pp. 68, 71; William H. Atwood, *Introduction to Vertebrate Zoölogy* (St. Louis, 1940), p. 152; Harry M. Kyle, *The Biology of Fishes* (New York, 1926), p. 261.

⁸ Norman, p. 68.

⁹ Atwood, p. 149.

¹⁰ Kyle, p. 11; cf. Norman, p. 82.

¹¹ Norman, p. 68.

¹² Norman, p. 82. In order to demonstrate that this relates to a reading of the sense of lines 4-7 of the poem that is not strictly personal, I may quote Schoder, p. 292, who says that “the falcon suddenly levels off, swings outward and down . . . then tilts his wings to the other side and executes a reverse curve. The whole motion looks like a figure-eight or the contours of a ribbon tied in a bow.”

¹³ Norman, p. 85.

¹⁴ Atwood, p. 152; cf. Norman, p. 69, Newman, pp. 123, 125, and Kyle, p. 261.

¹⁵ Atwood, p. 152.

The physical form and the modes of flight of fish and falcon are then rather strictly parallel; the fish is quite appropriate, moreover, to the more general context of words and images within which both windhover and skate are embedded in the poem. As it soars upon the surface of the sea, the skate, like the falcon, may be regarded as "[ringing] upon the rein of a wimpling wing" (line 4), for although it always moves with this rippling or undulating motion of the wing, the skate's characteristic turns and curves exaggerate the motion, since the "mechanics of banked flight require the pivotal wing to be contracted so that its shortened span forces the surface into little bulging ripples."¹⁶ The skate's "heel" may be, from this point of view, that inclination from the vertical which is involved in the banked turn of both fish and falcon,¹⁷ and "bow-bend" may describe a sweeping turning movement, similar in curvature to the "bend" of a ship—the term referring generally to those crooked timbers which make the ribs or sides of a ship,¹⁸ but more specifically to the bow. Such a sequence of nautical terms might be regarded as occurring naturally to Hopkins in connection with the falcon, which he had earlier (lines 2-3) described as "riding / Of the rolling level . . . steady air. . . ." In this connection, many readers must, like Schoder, have envisioned the falcon's action here as riding "the billowing air as a ship the waves."¹⁹ And if it is not certain that Hopkins did in fact draw his description of this paradoxically "rolling level . . . steady air" from his observation of the sea, it is at least certain that he has elsewhere described the sea itself in strikingly similar paradoxical terms: he noted in his *Journal* that "one should be alive to the oneness which all its motion and tumult receives from its perpetual balance and falling this way and that to its level."²⁰

Thus, interpretation of the "skate" as an allusion to a fish of the family of rays would make it possible to draw all major terms at this point in the poem—"skate," "heel," "bow-bend," "riding of the rolling level," etc.—from a single—marine—field of reference, under conditions which would support a rather strict parallel between the falcon and the skate. But the parallel becomes analogy when we consider each in relation to its native element: as the falcon is to the

¹⁶ Schoder, p. 291, describing the falcon.

¹⁷ See OED, s. v. "Heel," sb.² and v.².

¹⁸ See OED, s. v. "Bend," sb.⁴ I. 6, *Naut.*

¹⁹ Schoder, p. 288.

²⁰ Journal entry for August 16, 1872, in *The Note-Books and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Humphry House (London, 1937).

air, so the fish is to the water; each is a rider of its rolling level. So the two members of the analogy are finally identified in the underlying but persistent and so important rider-metaphor, which appears in "riding" (line 2), "striding" (line 3), "rein" (line 4), and "chevalier" (line 11). The general effect of such an interpretation of the allusion to the skate is to enforce and to amplify the central falcon-image by implied repetition of the specific terms within which that central image is articulated; a further result is simplification of the image-fabric of the poem, with consequent heightened unity. Other implications will appear as we examine the sestet.

I have not found any unequivocal allusion to this fish elsewhere in Hopkins' work, but that fact does not place such a reference beyond the purview of his experience, of course. The Common Skate is widely distributed at various depths all about the British Isles,²¹ especially at or near the surface in the shallow inshore waters.²² Particularly in summer months it is not uncommon for the skate to come to the surface and bask in the sunshine while lazily moving alternately from side to side in its characteristic "bow-bend," and so "riding the rolling level" while awaiting the prey upon which it will pounce. Hopkins had ample opportunity to gain some familiarity with the skate; he often sailed, and he frequently recorded precise observations of fish and fishermen in his *Journal*.²³

II

The allusion to the skate is clearly intended to augment the image of the falcon, and to clarify its action; therefore, uncertainty as to the precise identity of the referent need not unduly impede either more general interpretation of the poem, or discussion of its structure. Early interpretations with varying degrees of clarity and emphasis regarded the poem as dealing with either of two types of Christian activity considered as exclusive. Father Thomas J. Grady emphasized the falcon's achievement of glory and ecstasy by natural and overt activity in the octave, and viewed the sestet as practically meaningless and functionless.²⁴ A more common interpretation—diametrically opposed to Grady's, and rather widely established by the reputations of I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, William Empson, and W. H. Gardner

²¹ Jenkins, p. 335; Norman, p. 58.

²² Jenkins, p. 335; Norman, p. 81.

²³ Hopkins' *Journal*, in *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 110, 114, 124, 135, 143, 151, 153, 162, 174, 179, 181, 205.

²⁴ In "Windhover's Meaning," *America*, LXX (1944), 465-466.

—²⁵ is one which emphasizes the apparent passive implications of the sestet in a reading of the poem as one of simple renunciation, sacrifice, and spiritual defeat following inner conflict; this reading, of course, regards the sestet as opposed to, and consequently superseding or denying, the octave. Later, Frederick L. Gwynn's emphasis upon the primacy of the falcon-image in both octave and sestet—the bird soaring in the first, and descending in the second—seems to imply a fundamental objection, with which I agree, to any interpretations, such as the foregoing, which emphasize either octave or sestet as the denial or exclusion of the other. In any case, while reviewing interpretations of this poem one feels that there is rather general, although obscure, agreement that the argument of the poem turns upon Hopkins' interpretation of Christ, and Christ-like and Christian action, through his vision of the falcon; and in scrutinizing the poem one feels that the problem of ascertaining its structure and determining its meaning is the problem of determining how Hopkins' presentation of different aspects of the windhover's actions in octave and sestet, as aided by the clarifying emphases of the other images in the poem, actually define this interpretation.

We have seen that the octave presents the falcon as engaged in masterful and glorious overt activity; on the other hand, the first triad of the sestet, to which we now turn, presents it in sudden descent, presumably in attack upon prey, while wings—as well as “Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume” (line 9)—here buckle! Although it is superficially passive in character, since the falcon here folds his wings and gives himself up to gravitational force, this dive is the characteristic fulfilment or completion—and in that sense perfection—of the hawk's preparatory overt activity of hovering, ringing, and gliding. In this way, fulfilment of the falcon's nature as aggressive and dangerous predator—that is, as falcon—involves a culminating and climactic, but paradoxical, identification of the very pitch of activity with the very pitch of passivity. This paradoxical active-passive identity is incorporated most specifically in the often-noted grammatical ambiguity of “Buckle” (line 10),²⁶ which has strong reflexive and passive, as well as active, overtones—active in the sense of grappling with the air or with an enemy, reflexive in the sense of folding the wings or bending to the dive, and passive

²⁵ As above, n. 1, see Schoder for survey and bibliography of these and other interpretations.

²⁶ See Schoder, p. 297, and Gwynn, p. 367, n. 5.

in the sense of yielding in the dive to the gravitational attraction of earth.²⁷ The paradox is embodied more generally, and with structural significance, in the capitalized coördinating conjunction "AND" (line 10) which is used to join the poet's description of the falcon's gathering dive to his reflection upon the sudden burst of great beauty that accompanies it—"a billion / Times told lovelier, more dangerous" (lines 10-11) than that which attends the masterful overt action of the octave. The use of "AND," that is, would appear to signalize a relationship of development and consistency rather than opposition or exclusion between the two aspects of the hawk's activity which are being compared with respect to their beauty; more specifically, it would appear to argue that the aggressively passive aspect which is involved in the dive of this sestet is the fulfilment or completion—in no sense a denial—of the aggressively active aspect presented in the octave. They are thus united in an ultimate identity.

The purpose of the last three lines—the second triad of the sestet—is to familiarize the perception heretofore enunciated with reference only to the falcon in his dive ("No wonder of it," etc., line 12), and to generalize it by the adducement of other instances in which the passive aspects of their action endow other objects with augmented splendor. So a plow, as it is drawn down a sillion,²⁸ is burnished to greater beauty ("shéer plód makes plow down sillion / Shine," lines 12-13), and as they fall grey embers are stricken to scarlet glory. Both plow and embers are like the falcon (and the skate if fish) in cleaving as they are drawn through their respective elements, while the plow at least has an additional similarity to the falcon (and the skate if fish) in its rhomboidal outline.²⁹ The thematic identity of active and passive again becomes grammatically explicit in the subject-object identity of the reflexive "gall themselves and gash gold-vermilion," which is said of the embers (line 14).

Through a series of images which are parallel and subordinate to the dominant falcon-image, then, Hopkins' *Windhover* asserts the integral relationship of activity and passivity as specific aspects of action in general; at the same time it argues the greater glory and grandeur of passivity as the climactic aspect. From this point of view we can revert with new understanding to Hopkins' dedication of the poem "To Christ Our Lord": His highest and most heroic action

²⁷ See OED, s. v. "Buckle," v. 2. a-c, 3. b, 6. b, 7.

²⁸ See Gwynn, p. 369, on precise meaning of "sillion."

²⁹ See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, n. d.), p. 15.

—the one most dangerous to Himself, His enemies, and to the world in both, and the action which indeed, made Him the Christ—was His passion. So the identity of activity and passivity becomes the identity of action and passion, and that identity is given specifically Christian application; *The Windhover*, in consequence, presents a poetic articulation of that paradox which lies at the very heart of the central Christian act.

Finally, when viewed within the context that we have here suggested, it appears distinctly possible that Hopkins may have been employing traditional Christian symbols with specific symbolic significance in the images of *The Windhover*: the falcon has long been associated with the holy man³⁰ (the fish, of course, has long symbolized Christ),³¹ and plowing with the exercise of the prelatical office³² (the value and dignity of which life was of such concern to this convert Jesuit priest,³³ and the character of which imposes restraints of passivity and sacrifice in order to realize the highest possible type of Christian action), while the ember has traditional associations with the sacrificial and thus passive activity of penance, the death of the body, and—in its scarlet color—the passion of Christ.³⁴

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Les Alibantes of Rabelais

In the second chapter of *Pantagruel*, Rabelais relates with mock solemnity the birth of his hero and the manner in which he received

³⁰ See Ferguson, p. 15. Cf. Hartman, p. 53: "The Windhover" bears a religious dedication: *To Christ Our Lord*, and yet contains no explicit element of traditional religious symbolism except the archtypal falcon."

³¹ See Ferguson, p. 15.

³² Often, for instance, in *Piers Plowman*, which Hopkins certainly knew, although the available evidence makes it impossible to determine with certainty just when he first read it, and whether *The Windhover* was in its published form when he read it. See *The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges*, ed. Claude C. Abbott (London, 1955), pp. 56, 85, 107, 156. See D. W. Robertson and B. F. Huppé, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 17-18, for a series of references in medieval commentary and exegesis which endow plow, plowing, and plowman with symbolic significance, based on Luke ix: 62, in which Christ warns that "No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God."

³³ As shown in his "Comments on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola," in *Notebooks*, etc.

³⁴ See Ferguson, p. 53.

his name. We learn, in the second paragraph, that there was in all of Africa that year a well-nigh supernatural drought: "Il y avoit une si grand seicheresse en tout le pays de Africque . . . que toute la terre en estoit aride."¹ Rabelais describes its effect on natural objects, on the birds and animals. "Et au regard des hommes, c'estoit la grande pitié. Vous les eussiez veuz tirans la langue, comme lévriers qui ont couru six heures. Plusieurs se gettoient dedans les puy; d'autres se mettoient au ventre d'une vache pour estre à l'umbre: et les appelle Homere *Alibantes*." The remainder of this second paragraph impresses on the reader the agonized efforts of men "pour se guarentir de ceste horrifique altération," and the advantages of a cool, well-stocked cellar. With an apparent *non sequitur*, the following paragraph asks why sea water is salty and answers that Phaeton's navigation of his chariot was so ill-managed that he burnt a large part of the sky and dried up part of the earth. "Adonc la terre fut tant eschauffée, qu'il luy vint une sueur énorme, dont elle sua toute la mer, qui par ce est sallée." A similar phenomenon, the fourth paragraph informs us, occurred on the day of Pantagruel's birth: in the midst of a fine procession to pray the Almighty to send rain, "visiblement fut veu de la terre sortir grosses gouttes d'eau, comme quand quelque personne sue copieusement." But this dew was, alas! saltier than sea water. From this day's events, Pantagruel was given his name which allegedly means "tout altéré," in commemoration of the thirst of the world. Through these ominous days, then, three notions dominate as portents of the miracle to come: *Sécheresse, altération, sueur*.

One detail in these events seems to have escaped the notice of the commentators. Many of the human victims of the drought threw themselves into wells, a natural, if desperate act; others, in an act so unnatural and grotesque as to have, by contrast, comic intent on the author's part, placed themselves in the belly of a cow.² To underline his intentions, Rabelais solemnly bestows a classical accolade on

¹ Quotations are from *Pantagruel*, ed. V. L. Saulnier (Paris, 1946), pp. 17-19. See also *Les croniques admirables du puissant roy Gargantua*, ed. M. Françon (Rochecorbon, 1956), p. lxxix and p. 53.

² *Au ventre d'une vache* implies *within* the belly, not simply in the shade of. Texts H and J offer the variant *on ventre* (ed. Lefranc I, 31), where *on* represents the contracted form of *en le*. Cf. *Quart livre*, Chap. XXXIV, ed. R. Marichal (Geneva, 1947), p. 156: "Si les Perses . . . ne se cachent vers le centre de la terre, ou ne se mussent *on* profond des étangs et paluz." See also E. Huguet, *Étude sur la syntaxe de Rabelais* (Paris, 1894), p. 53. For the confusion of *ou*, *on* and *au* see K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1930), VI, 113.

these despairing humans: Homer calls them *Alibantes*, he says. The editors have all pointed out Rabelais' lapse of memory: it was Plutarch commenting on a passage of the *Odyssey* who speaks of the *Alibantes*, the dried-up, and not Homer.³ Their taking refuge in the belly of a cow seems, however, to have been accepted as a normal procedure. Jonah knew the inside of the whale; the Greeks, of the Trojan horse, but in neither case was amelioration of an unhappy lot being sought. Rabelais seems to be satirizing, in fact, a recommendation of contemporary medical books which, though horrifying enough to present-day notions, struck him as ludicrous.

The clearest exposition of this recommendation is to be found in the *Traité des venins* of a younger contemporary, Ambroise Paré. Here we find explained how some poisons are dry: "Les patients ont une aridité et seicheresse à la langue et au gosier, avec une soif inaltérable."⁴ As a general remedy, Paré counsels *diversions* to prevent the poison from reaching the heart and to draw it from the interior to the exterior of the body. Sudation is an excellent diversion: "le bain d'eau chaude . . . aussi les estuves seiches." Then Paré adds: "Or si le patient est grand seigneur, en lieu de bains et estuves il sera mis dedans le ventre d'un bœuf ou d'une vache, ou d'un cheval ou mulet, à fin de le faire suer . . . et quand ils seront refroidis, il sera mis dedans un autre." With involuntary humor he concludes "Et fera-t-on toutes autres choses necessaires . . . et tout par le conseil du docte medecin, s'il se peut trouver."⁵

The parallel between the two passages, both of which insist on the same elements of *sécheresse*, *altération* and *sueur* is striking. Paré's text (1575)⁶ is later than the appearance of *Pantagruel* (1532). His treatise on poisons, however, follows closely that found in the *Canon medicinae* of Avicenna, the standard work on the subject until the 18th century.⁷ Neither the *Canon* nor other *de venenis* prior to 1532 which follow in Avicenna's footsteps, however, contain this particularly ludicrous remedy, except Pietro d'Abano's *de venenis*. He advocates the remedy twice: "Celuy qu'aura prins du plomb brulé, ne

³ The comment of the A. Lefranc edition of the *Œuvres* (Paris, 1912 etc.), III, 31, note 10, is accepted by the later editors, Plattard, Boulenger, Saulnier.

⁴ A. Paré, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J. F. Malgaigne (Paris, 1841), III, 291.

⁵ Paré, *Œuvres*, III, 294.

⁶ Paré's first published work, *La Méthode de traiter les playes*, is dated 1545. The quotations from the *Traité des venins* are taken from the first edition of the *Œuvres complètes*, 1575.

⁷ D. Riesman, *The Story of Medicine in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1935), p. 53.

pourra parler et mourra suffoqué: sa voix ne s'entendra . . . sa cure est . . . se vestir peaux de renards, ou de brebis, fresches: et entrer dans le ventre d'une mule, ou asnesse chaude: et ce par plusieurs fois;" whilst the remedy for the effects of the "sang et salive du crapaut" is to take emerald dust and "entrer dans le corps de quelque grand animal quadrupede, comme le beuf, asne, mulet ou cheval, et le reiterer par plusieurs fois."⁸

Added to the end of his chapter as an afterthought, as an unusual remedy by Paré, not found in the majority of treatises on poisoning, Pietro d'Abano's remedy seems to have provoked Rabelais to mirth, the more so because Pietro d'Abano was the upholder of an outmoded viewpoint. His surname the Conciliator implies his attempts to reconcile Greek and Arabic medicine. Printed six times in Italy and once in Geneva before 1500, again in Paris in 1515, the *de venenis* is also printed with his major *Liber conciliator* at Venice in 1521 and 1522,⁹ by an elder statesman of medicine in Lyons, Symphorien Champier, surely known to Rabelais. Champier had also in his younger years attempted to harmonize Greek and Arabic medicine but now as a convinced Galenist, an upholder of Greek medicine, he added "Cribrationes contra eundem Conciliatorem" to his edition of Pietro d'Abano. Rabelais was likewise a convinced Hellenist in medical matters. His laughter at this curious remedy is not simply directed at an incongruous situation but has overtones of satire directed at an old-fashioned school of thought.

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⁸ The quotations are taken from the *Traicté des venims de Pierre d'Abano . . . traduit de latin en françois par Lazare Boet* (Lyon, 1953), p. 59 and p. 93. They are a faithful translation of the relevant portions of Chaps. XVII and LXIII of the *Tractatus de Venenis a magistro Petro de Abbano* (Mantua, 1473).

⁹ *Conciliator Petri Aponensis . . . Liber conciliator differentiarumque philosophorum precipueque medicorum appellatus . . . Ejusdem insuper libellus de venenis . . . Simphoriani preterea Cribrationes contra eundem Conciliatorem*, Venice, 1521, 1522, 1548, 1565.

Présages heureux et malheureux, chez Ronsard

Dans le premier livre de *La Franciade*, Ronsard a dit:

Comme il prioit, des Dieux le pere et maistre
Fit par trois fois tonner à main senestre.¹

Laumonier renvoie à Virgile, *En.* II, 693 et dit: "Le tonnerre à gauche était, comme le vol des oiseaux, un présage favorable aux yeux des Latins, qui se tournant vers le midi avaient à leur gauche l'Orient, d'où venaient les signes heureux (d'après Pline, *H. N.* II, 52, 55). Déjà vu t. I, pp. 30 et 156; III, p. 21, texte et note; VIII, p. 24. Ailleurs, R. a suivi la tradition opposée, celle des Grecs."

Si nous nous reportons aux passages signalés par Laumonier, nous relevons:

Lors qu'un bon signe au ciel nous est donné,
Et Juppiter à main gauche a tonné, . . .²

Laumonier note, là aussi, la source de ces vers: le même passage de l'Enéide, II, 693. Quant à III, 21, nous trouvons là une troisième utilisation de cette même source:

Lors un tonnerre espovantable
Dardé à gauche heureusement, . . .³

C'est en commentant ces vers que Laumonier a une longue note qui a été résumée à propos du passage précédemment cité de *La Franciade*. C'est, apparemment, chez E. Benoist que Laumonier a trouvé l'explication qu'il a donnée sur les présages heureux et malheureux. A propos de l'expression tirée de l'Enéide, II, 693: *Intonuit laevum*, Benoist explique: "C'était un présage favorable; cf. *G.* IV, 7."⁴ Reportons-nous aux *Géorgiques*, où une longue note nous dit, à propos de *si quem numina laeva sinunt*, "celui que les dieux contraires laissent y parvenir, c.-a.-d. à qui les dieux ne se montrent pas contraires. . . —Heyne explique *laeva* par: favorables. Les Romains se tournaient vers le midi pour prendre les présages; l'orient, d'où venaient les signes heureux, était donc à leur gauche. Cf. Pline, *H. N.* II, 52, 55: "*Laeva prospera existimantur, quoniam laeva parte mundi*

¹ P. de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, éd. crit. Laumonier, XVI, 89. Nous nous servons de cette édition partout où c'est possible. Ailleurs, nous utilisons l'édition Vaganay, comme nous l'indiquerons.

² *Id.*, I, 30.

³ *Id.*, III, 21.

⁴ *Oeuvres de Virgile*, p. p. E. Benoist (Paris, 1869), *Enéide* (I-VI), p. 122.

ortus est." . . . Toutefois, les Romains suivaient aussi la façon de s'exprimer des Grecs, qui, recueillant les présages en se tournant vers le nord, tenaient la droite pour favorable, la gauche comme de mauvais augure. Dans le passage présent, le terme *sinere* montre qu'il s'agit non de divinités propices qui favorisent, mais de divinités contraires qui pourraient empêcher. . . . Aulu-Gelle (V, 12), à propos de ces vers, qu'il entend dans le dernier sens, dit qu'il y avait deux sortes de dieux. . . . Il faut donc entendre en général par dieux favorables ceux que les auteurs latins nommaient *numina dextra* . . . , par dieux contraires, ceux qu'ils appellent *laeva* ou *sinistra*. . . ." ⁵ Il faut donc, pour ce passage des *Georgiques*, rejeter l'explication de Heyne et comprendre, par *numina laeva*, des divinités contraires. On voit les difficultés que rencontrent les commentateurs. L'un d'eux explique: "En général, les signes, les objets qui se montraient à gauche, étaient réputés de bon augure; quelques passages pourtant présentent *laevus* dans le sens de défavorable, qu'il a ici [*G. IV, 7*]." ⁶

Laumonier a fait la liste des passages dans lesquels Ronsard a employé l'expression à gauche dans un sens défavorable:

Et quel Démon d'une senestre main
Berça mon corps quand le ciel me fit naistre.⁷

Tant d'une gauche main la Parque ourdit ma vie.⁸

Par suite, et inversement, à droite se comprend au sens de favorable, comme dans les *Dithyrambes* de 1553:

Dextre vien à ceux
Qui ne sont point paresseux. . . .⁹

De même:

Le Dieu qui des passants a cure
Te puisse guider dextrement.¹⁰

Et, dans le vers suivant, il s'agit aussi d'un augure favorable:

Si dextrement l'augure j'ay reçu. . . .¹¹

⁵ *Oeuvres de Virgile*, p. p. E. Benoist (Paris, 1867), *Les Bucoliques et les Géorgiques*, p. 246.

⁶ Virgile, *Les Géorgiques* expliquées littéralement par M. Sommer, traduites en français et annotées par M. A. Desportes (Paris, 1853), p. 62.

⁷ *Oeuvres complètes*, IV, 50.

⁸ Ed. Vaganay, II, 255.

⁹ Ed. crit. Laumonier, V, 75.

¹⁰ *Id.*, I, 174.

¹¹ *Id.*, IV, 128.

Mais, Laumonier remarque que "dans le sonnet *Avant le temps*" [IV, 22-23] Ronsard feint "qu'un 'dextre éclair' est venu confirmer une funeste prédiction de sa Cassandre."¹²

Ajoutons que les variantes de Ronsard sont intéressantes, du point de vue auquel nous nous sommes placés. Il avait, ainsi, d'abord écrit:

Ton Cigne voller à senestre.¹³

Mais, en 1587, le texte devient:

Ton Cygne voler à main dextre.

En 1572, Ronsard avait écrit:

L'augure bon que soudain il conceut.¹⁴

A partir de 1573, ce vers devient:

Le bon augure avenu dextrement.

Laumonier commente: "Dans la variante, 'avenue dextrement' signifie: ayant eu lieu à main droite, signe de bon augure, du moins pour les Grecs."

Dans le "Discours contre Fortune, a Odet de Colligny . . .," Ronsard évoque la Fortune qui est entourée de serviteurs nombreux,

Or de tous les valets qu'elle avoit à la dextre,
Appela le Malheur. . . .¹⁵

Aux exemples déjà signalés, ajoutons-en encore deux:

Qui flamber à gauche fut veu.¹⁶

Laumonier commente ce dernier vers, en notant: "Heureux présage." Quant au second; il est tiré de l'*Hymne* de Henri II; le voici:

Ainsi, en te baisant, prophetisoient ces Dieux,
Quand un Aigle volant bien haut dedans les cieux
(Augure bon aux Roys) trois fois dessus ta teste
Fist un grand bruit, suivy d'une gauche tempeste.¹⁷

Laumonier rapproche ce passage de celui que nous avons déjà cité: "Et Jupiter à main gauche a tonné" (I. 30). Or, ce vers de l'*Hymne de France* (1549) est inspiré du passage de l'*Enéide* (II, 693) qui a aussi dû inspirer Ronsard pour l'*Hymne* de Henri II (1555).

¹² *Id.*, III, 21, n. 1.

¹³ *Id.*, I, 156.

¹⁴ *Id.*, XVI, 55.

¹⁵ Ed. Vaganay, IV, 50.

¹⁶ Laumonier, III, 156.

¹⁷ *Id.*, VIII, 24.

Pouvons-nous résumer? Dans les exemples que nous avons réunis, *senestre main* et *gauche main* ont un sens défavorable; inversement, *dextrement*, et *dextre vien* correspondent à des signes de bon augure.

Par contre, nous avons cinq passages (I, 30; III, 21, 156; VIII, 24; XVI, 89) où Ronsard s'est inspiré du même passage de l'Enéide. Quant au "dextre éclair" qui, dans le sonnet IV, 22-23, vient confirmer la funeste prédiction de Cassandre, nous pourrions voir là encore, une réminiscence de ce passage de Virgile, et, d'ailleurs, Laumonier renvoie, à propos de ce "dextre éclair," au vers de l'ode de la paix (III, 21) qui, lui, est inspiré directement par ce vers de l'Enéide (II, 693). Nous pouvons donc rattacher le sonnet IV, 22-23 aux cinq passages qui nous ont occupés; le *Intonuit laevum* a donc amené Ronsard à considérer la foudre, l'éclair,¹⁸ la tempête, à *gauche*, comme un signe *favorable*, tandis que, partout ailleurs, dans les vers de Ronsard, la gauche est de mauvais augure et la droite est un heureux présage.¹⁹

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REVIEWS

W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1954. xviii + 299 pp.).

IN this book Mr. Wimsatt has brought together, after some minor revisions, sixteen essays originally published in various journals between 1941 and 1952. The first three studies discuss certain "fallacies" in literary criticism: the intentional fallacy, the affective fallacy, and the fallacy of literary species.¹ These are preliminary

¹⁸ L'éclair à droite étant défavorable.

¹⁹ Notre conclusion diffère un peu non seulement de celle de Laumonier, mais aussi de celle de M. Fernand Desonay. Ce dernier a dit, dans sa remarquable étude *Ronsard poète de l'amour. Livre Premier. Cassandre* (Bruxelles, 1952), p. 115, n. 47: "Ronsard ne suit la vieille tradition latine . . . que dans l'*Hymne de France des Premières Poésies* . . . , dans le sonnet XIX des *Amours* de 1552 . . . et dans l'*Hymne* . . . du . . . Roy . . . Henry II. . . ." Quant à la variante de 1587, de l'ode XVIII (Voeu à Phebus), elle nous paraît curieuse à signaler, mais sans grande signification, le sens du passage n'étant pas suffisamment clair, et la date de la variante la rendant suspecte.

¹ It is regrettable that Wimsatt has chosen to label these as "fallacies." They are fallacies only if one agrees with him that literature is a form of

forays, designed to close off what Wimsatt regards as ways of "escaping" the critic's full responsibilities and thus to open up the proper approach to the literary object. In the second group of essays—dealing with such topics as "The Concrete Universal" and "Symbol and Metaphor"—Wimsatt undertakes "to face some of the more substantive responsibilities of the critic who, eschewing the psychologistic kinds of escape, is willing to defend literature as a form of knowledge" (p. xii). Literature as a form of knowledge is essentially a matter of meanings; Wimsatt's third section comprises five essays, illustrated mainly from eighteenth-century poetry, on "verbal style," designed to show that "style is a level of meaning." In the final group of studies Wimsatt broadens the discussion to take up the relations of criticism to history and to aesthetics, and of literature to other arts and to "Christian thinking."

In a relatively brief review it is impossible to deal at all adequately with so many essays on such a wide variety of topics. I shall take my cue from Wimsatt's arrangement of his studies into a "rounded whole" embodying his general approach to literary problems, and try to suggest what seem to me to be the strengths and weaknesses of that approach.

With Wimsatt's broad aims in criticism I should hope that there might be widespread agreement. He wants to make critical discussion objective and testable, to preserve the autonomy of literary works, and to avoid reducing the poem to the circumstances of its origin, its affiliations with other works, or its psychological effects. More than this, he wishes to give prominence to the substantial and cognitive elements in poetry. He properly deplores such traditional and modern antitheses as those between object and subject, content and technique, meaning and style, reason and emotion, understanding and evaluation, "logical structure" and "irrelevant local texture," which separate the cognitive and the emotional elements in literature. These antitheses usually assign the cognitive or "meaningful" side to prose or

knowledge and that the only true business of criticism is the explication of meaning. Agreement here is not obligatory. The chief value of these essays is not refutative but admonitory: they contain useful hints about what sorts of statement to avoid if one wishes to practice Wimsatt's version of "objective" criticism. And it should be noted that the critic interested in intentions and effects is shown how to take these into account, by making them translatable into cognitive terms. I must add, as an entirely personal note, that I do not believe the cause of learning is well served by the use of terms of moral or theological connotation, like *fallacy*, *heresy*, *responsibility*, and *mature*, nor by the self-righteousness implicit in the debating tactic which attributes escapism to one's opponents.

scientific discourse, and locate the distinctively poetic in the merely emotive, connotative, and subjective. Such a procedure deprives literature of its obvious reference to the world of existence, makes it impossible to define the real unity of poetic works, and falsifies our experience of literature. Wimsatt therefore devotes special attention to these antitheses, attempting to unite the opposed terms by showing how the supposedly alogical elements in poetry function as important vehicles of meaning.

The theory which Wimsatt propounds for these various purposes is a theory of meaning and is to that extent like the theories which have given rise to the false antitheses he wishes to resolve. But in Wimsatt's view, discourse, instead of being divided into the prosaic and the poetic, is essentially all of one kind: it combines truth of correspondence (the external reference to things) and truth of coherence (the internal reference among the parts). Poetry achieves its distinctive character not by being less meaningful or cognitive than other modes of discourse, but by being more meaningful, and especially by greatly amplifying the dimension of internal coherence.

Poetry is a complex kind of verbal construction in which the dimension of coherence is by various techniques of implication greatly enhanced and thus generates an extra dimension of correspondence to reality, the symbolic or analogical. (p. 241)

Poetry, that is, by the multiplicity of its internal connections, takes on the status of a quasi-substance; it becomes a verbal icon: among the "different types of verbal discourse," we are told, there is one type, the poetic, which "seems somehow, by rhythmic, metaphoric, and punning figures, and by dramatic reflexes, to embody meanings in an exceptionally solid and intuitional form" (p. 230). Poetry therefore

achieves concreteness, particularity, and something like sensuous shape not by irrelevance of local texture, in its meter or in its images (as in one currently sophisticated literary theory), but by extra relevance or hyperrelevance, the interrelational density of words taken in their fullest, most inclusive and symbolic character. (p. 231)

Wimsatt's practical criticism, which is unfortunately not as extended as one might wish, is devoted largely to showing how certain aspects of the verbal medium, frequently thought to be, if not meaningless, at any rate largely irrelevant to the central logical structure of poems, do in fact contribute to the meaning and hence to the iconic character of poems. Thus rhyme, notably in Pope, frequently reinforces the witty meaning of the couplet; figures of

speech such as the pun and the turn can be regarded as meaningful and even metaphoric; stylistic variation may be not merely "elegant" and ornamental but organically significant. These essays in practical criticism are often acute and perspicacious, valuable in themselves and for the determination which they manifest to locate and define the unity of poems.

Wimsatt's theory of meaning, like every other theory, places poetry in a context external to poems themselves. Sometimes, especially in the essays on the so-called "fallacies," Wimsatt seems to talk as if other views of literature place it in a context of some sort (the poet, the audience, the species, etc.) while his own gives us poetry as it really is, apart from any context. But if this is actually Wimsatt's view, he is of course mistaken. Like every other critic, he has to have a source for his terms, distinctions, predicates, and value criteria; these he finds in a theory of meaning—resting ultimately on the assumption that meaning, being, and goodness are identical—which does not have its origin in poems and which does not depend on poems for its validity.

Every theory of poetry, besides delimiting the field of investigation and supplying terms for the resolution of the problems it isolates, tends to reduce the concrete objects with which it deals to the abstract simples defined by its cardinal terms. Thus the "intentionalist," if he proceeds carefully, may say useful and important things about poems, but he is constantly pulled in the direction of such universal concepts as "genius," "inspiration," and "imagination," and is ever likely to abstract from the poetic composite the properties designated by these terms, so reducing the poem to a particular instance of them. But so it is with other theories, including Wimsatt's. The tendency of theories of meaning in poetry is to reduce in the direction of the cognitive; it is extremely difficult, as the alternative theories of meaning criticized by Wimsatt attest, to hold to the centrality of meaning and at the same time take account of the particularity of the poem. Hence such dodges as "irrelevant local texture." Wimsatt's enterprise is designed to deal with this problem, but despite his repeated assertion that the poem is iconic, that its meanings are "thickened" to something like substantial shape, these remain assertions, and what Wimsatt succeeds in showing is not how poems achieve particularity but how the various verbal elements may convey meanings.

Thus it is very difficult to determine precisely how, in Wimsatt's view,

poetic differs from non-poetic meaning. The poetic is a special case, evidently, of the two primary modes of meaning—by correspondence and by coherence; all discourse has both elements; poetic meaning seems not to be qualitatively different from non-poetic meaning. Thus Wimsatt says that he uses the term "literature" in a "generic sense," and "poem, poetry, and poetic" in "a more accented sense, relating to literature in its most intensive instances" (p. xv). But *generic* and *accented* form what Wimsatt might call a "slant antithesis," and in any case literature seems not to be a genus, but rather a special case, or a somewhat accented sense, of meaning in general. Yet if poetry is but the most intensive form of literature, one wonders how poetry can be spoken of as a "kind" of meaning or a "type" of verbal discourse; for there appears to be only one kind, with varying degrees of complication. Wimsatt seems to suggest that the distinguishing property of the poetic is complexity: "every real poem is a complex poem, and only in virtue of its complexity does it have artistic unity" (p. 81). But this is either self-evident—since a unity is by definition a wholeness of parts—or meaningless—since not only every poem but every assertion of whatever kind must be to some degree complex. This doctrine begs the real questions—complex in what way? Complex to what extent? Yet the poetic is obviously not distinguishable from other discourse in a quantitative or statistical way. Wimsatt seems to be trying to solve an ontological problem with purely semantic tools, and he is no more successful than earlier writers in this mode have been in keeping the concrete object from evaporating into the mists of meaning.

Wimsatt is of course working under a special handicap, imposed on him by his praiseworthy determination to avoid being trapped into the use of such distinctions as those between logic and texture or the referential and the emotive. For when he eschews these terms, and others like them, which theorists of meaning have used to preserve the distinctness of poetry, Wimsatt has nowhere to go. He is pulled between two extremes, unmediated by partial distinctions. He tries to introduce new distinctions, such as that between "logical" and "counterlogical" figures, but the cognitive bias is evident in the fact that these are not really distinctions of substance, for the counterlogical figures are also logical, only in a different way. At one extreme is the poem, about which Wimsatt can only say that is *somehow* particular, but which he can explicate only through the single term left in his analytic—meaning. At the other extreme is the realm of

the transcendental, where Being, Truth, and Goodness are One. The direction of argument is always toward this pole, not merely because Wimsatt is interested in the philosophy of literature, but because it is only at this level that the final principle of intelligibility of poetry (and of everything else) is to be found. Thus the essay on "Poetry and Morals" ends on this strain:

... if it is true that starting with the fixity of dogma we cannot hope to define the content of poems—it is yet true that poems as empirically discovered and tested do tend, within their limits and given the peculiar *données* or presuppositions of each, to point toward the higher integration of dogma. . . . The greatest poetry will be morally right, even though perhaps obscurely so, in groping confusions of will and knowledge—as *Oedipus the King* foreshadows *Lear*. All this is but the consistent capstone which completes but does not contradict a system of values in which poetic is distinguished from moral and both are understood in relation to the master-ideas of evil as negation or not-being, a gap in order, and of good as positive, or being—in the natural order the designed complexity of what is most truly one or most has being. (p. 100)

The theory of substantial meaning, with its assumed identity of meaning and being, keeps breaking in to shatter the integrity of the icon and point toward "the higher integration of dogma."

There are suggestions in certain of Wimsatt's remarks that point perhaps in a different direction, one which might counteract the powerful tug of abstract ideas, or dogmas, and help to preserve the integrity of the work of art. Although his theory posits the centrality of meaning in poems, Wimsatt sometimes speaks as if meaning were not so much the essence of poetry as the means by which the poetic essence is apprehended. Thus he says that

The art of words is an intellectual art, and the emotions of poetry are simultaneous with conceptions and largely induced *through* the medium of conceptions. (p. 165)

And elsewhere he remarks that "*through* its meaning or meanings the poem is" (p. 231). In both sentences I have italicized the word *through*, to suggest an emphasis in Wimsatt's thinking that might well be brought to the fore—the notion that the role of meanings is intermediate and preparatory, that they are the chief (though by no means, I should argue, the only) means *through* which the literary object is formed in our minds. What that object is Wimsatt suggests in other passages: "the concreteness and dramatic presentation of value situations"; "the psychological complexities which make the meaning of the poem." Meaning, that is, may be essential to poetry

as that through which the poetic object is shaped and presented, but poetry may be not "a form of knowledge" but rather the concrete presentment of human experience, which resists reduction to abstract terms and is perceived and contemplated for its intrinsic values.

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H. M. Chadwick, *The Study of Anglo-Saxon* (2nd ed., Cambridge, England: Heffer, 1955. xviii + 99 pp. 6s.). MRS. Chadwick admits in her preface to this new edition of the late Professor Chadwick's little book, first published in 1941: "I must be honest. There is one respect in which my own experience and opinion differ from those of the writer. This is in regard to the importance of post-Conquest studies. Here my husband has permitted himself to express what was, indeed, a genuine prejudice, with humorous and whimsical exaggeration." Yet she makes few alterations. "I have refrained from making considerable changes and additions to the text, feeling sure that readers would wish to have the work substantially as my husband wrote it." Mrs. Chadwick's chief additions are (A) four appendices giving (1) a bibliography of some fifty "general books on Anglo-Saxon studies," (2) a list of some of the main editions and translations of Anglo-Saxon texts, (3) a list of thirty-one important Anglo-Saxon churches, and (4) a list of twenty-one museums in England containing "important collections of Anglo-Saxon objects"; and (B) an added chapter of twenty-five pages on "The Expansion of Anglo-Saxon Studies." In this new chapter she traces the achievements of the School of Anglo-Saxon and Kindred Studies "since the scope of Anglo-Saxon studies in Cambridge was widened [in 1917] to include not only language and literature, but also history, art and architecture, antiquities and the Church." In view of her long and sympathetic collaboration with her husband it is only natural that she stresses what has been accomplished by archaeological investigation and Scandinavian and Celtic studies in illuminating Anglo-Saxon history. In conclusion she indicates her belief that further Celtic studies, in particular, may well lead to important reassessments and gives some interesting suggestions based upon her own recent studies in this field.

University of Maryland

CECIL BALL

DeWitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1955. vi + 517 pp. \$7.50). THE literary man of the Renaissance felt as undressed without classical allusions and quotations as his modern counterpart would feel did he know none of the methods and terms of Freud. But it is easier to know about the crude sex drive or about the thanatic impulse than about Nisroch, Orcades, or Chus; hence, as we have long suspected, the hard-pressed Renaissance man of letters went calmly to a handbook and there garnered the fruits of the scholars' toil. If he were writing a play in which the hero killed his father, he would find in Ravisius Textor a list of heroes who killed their fathers. List in hand, the ignorant poet might then look up all the names in the onomasticons of Calepine, Torrentinus, Cooper, or the Stephani where he would learn more about them. After that, a quick look at the quotations on filial piety in Nannus Mirabellius would produce prose and verse quotations (with references) from Greek and Latin authors. The result of a half-hour's work of this nature made the man of letters a man of learning. In an age like ours when the ability to identify Hera suggests a fantastically good education, it is engaging to know that these classically inclined ancestors were not so much better off than we.

Professors Starnes and Talbert have in a series of chapters clearly demonstrated the use of these reference works by Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Heywood, Milton, and several lesser men of letters. The allusion as it appears in the verse of one or other of these men can be traced to one of these popular works of reference, either by the definiteness of the information, by the use of similar adjectives, or by the conflation of adjacent material. It can be assumed, I think, that the greater poets used these books to refresh their minds, but there is no question but that they used them in the same way that a modern professor might use Smith or Roscher, or Pauly-Wissowa.

The study is amazingly thorough, and is itself a work of reference for modern scholars who want to know more about the poets of this generation and how they worked. It is to be hoped that it will become a basis for a study of Renaissance mythology: how was a myth defined; what is the non-literal meaning of a myth; why do Spenser, Jonson, Milton remember one myth and not another; do myths suggest each other; do myths have special contemporary meanings; etc.

The Johns Hopkins University

D. C. ALLEN

H. J. Oliver, *The Problem of John Ford* (Melbourne Univ. Press; New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1955. vi + 146 pp. \$4.50).

THIS study is intended primarily as "a critical assessment" of Ford's works, although the first third of it is largely devoted to argument and speculation on canon and chronology. Much of this section is well done and some of it is new, but the presentation is here and there disjointed and very little of the material is made relevant to the later discussion of the major plays, even where it easily could have been. For example, Oliver follows Miss Sargeant and others in attributing to Ford the moral pamphlet *The Golden Meane* (1613; 1614) and discusses its neo-stoical treatment of how to meet adversity. Yet he does not overtly connect the moral attitude of the pamphlet with the problem of the morality of the plays, nor does he notice that the pamphlet's subtitle, "*Discoursing The Noblenesse of perfect Vertue in extreames*," is associated directly with Ford's interest in "dissecting the emotion of a character under stress" (126) and in subjects that demonstrate "experience by the extremities" (*Broken Heart*, II, 783) and "triall of extreames" (*Ladies Triall*, I, 282).

To be sure, Oliver rejects those critics who have found Ford guilty of prurience and immorality, but he does not in turn clearly define the moral assumptions that underlie the plays. (He does not cite the important choral commentary of Tecnicus, the philosopher of *The Broken Heart*, in Act III, scene i; indeed, he never mentions his name. Yet Tecnicus expresses attitudes close to those of Ford's early poems and pamphlets.) Instead, he evades the problem from the beginning by taking too modern a view of Ford as a dramatist who unfortunately "considered himself forced to work within the Elizabethan tradition . . . and no doubt it would have been better for Ford, in an absolute sense, if he had attempted to write plays of an entirely new kind . . . to create a new tradition, of purely psychological drama" (3). He rounds out his study by seeing Ford "as a constant experimenter with dramatic form, who, because he never quite cast off the shackles of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, did not find the new form he was seeking" (127), thereby concluding with too modern a view and leaving the moral problem unresolved. His "modernism" leads him to compare Ford with Eugene O'Neill, as Sensabaugh did before him, where comparison with Euripides or even Racine would have been more valid.

Except in his best chapters (those on *'Tis Pitty* and "Ford's

Achievement"), Oliver's analyses place too much emphasis on character and too little on structure. He neither attempts to define the dramatic actions of the plays (which would involve coming to clear terms with their moral assumptions) nor to explore such recurrent patterns of their materials—words, images, ideas, and attitudes—as might lead to useful critical hypotheses about the plays as complete works of art. I shall cite only a few examples. Oliver does not point out or discuss the implications of one of Ford's favorite words, "antic" (or "antique"), which is especially frequent in *Lovers Melancholy* and is found even in *Perkin Warbeck*. He does not discuss the frequent use of the adjectives "sudden" and "monstrous," so noticeable in *The Broken Heart*. He does not deal with the pervasive image of Ford's heroines as saints and martyrs in shrines or temples, especially in *The Broken Heart*, *The Queen*, and *Loves Sacrifice*. These recurrences would seem to be obvious ways into the problem of John Ford, particularly since a number of associated ideas and attitudes connect with his earlier works.

Oliver does not discuss the significances of tag-names in Ford, not even in *The Broken Heart* where Ford himself fitted their names to the speakers' qualities and translated them. He does not question the increasingly ambiguous treatment of Biancha's chastity in *Loves Sacrifice* (78 and 84), although Peter Ure stressed this point in 1950 (*MLQ*, XI). Nor does he see any ambiguity in the Duke's "constant awareness of the fact that he married beneath his rank when he married Biancha, an awareness which the dramatist seems to see as the weakness in the Duke's armour" (82). Although he sees Ford as reinterpreting the plots of his predecessors in *Loves Sacrifice* (*Othello*) and *'Tis Pitty* (*Romeo and Juliet*), he does not pick up C. L. Lockert's suggestion (made in 1918) that the same relationship holds between *The Ladies Triall* and *The Fatal Dowry*. Finally, he has not taken into account the work of Lawrence Babb (Yale dissertation, 1934; article in *MLN*, LI [1936]; and *The Elizabethan Malady*, 1951) or that of Robert Davril (note in *MLN*, LXVI [1951], and the monumental *Le Drame de John Ford*, 1954, which probably appeared too late for Oliver to use).

Both the strengths and weaknesses of Oliver's study result from his view of Ford as a psychological realist, a view which can lead him to remark that "there is surely more real passion in this scene in *The Lovers Melancholy* [III, ii] than in the whole of *Twelfth Night*" (54); that (of the dénouement of *The Ladies Triall*)

"perhaps things do happen that way in real life" (120); that he would call *The Fancies* "a tragi-comedy did I not feel that the classification of Ford's plays according to the usual modes is completely misleading" (110); that Ford "uses soliloquy very rarely indeed, particularly for a psychological dramatist. He prefers to bring out character by more truly dramatic methods" (103); that in presenting Giovanni with Annabella's heart on his dagger Ford "had to give a realistic presentation of melodramatic action; it has seemed to many a melodramatic presentation of reality. The difference, in drama, is very slight" (95).

Such remarks must be taken together with Oliver's predisposition to see Ford's plays at their best as realistic portrayals not of "the sequence of emotions" but of "the single, static feeling" (126) and at their worst, apparently, as hampered by Caroline conventions and traditional generic expectations. The result is a curiously Archesque Ibsenite analysis, with its derogation of soliloquy as less truly dramatic than other methods and with its confusion of art and life, drama (even melodrama) and reality.

Despite these reservations, and allowing for Oliver's "modernism," the chapters on the chief plays and that on Ford's achievement are as good as any we have and more concise than most. For all his emphasis on Ford as a psychological dramatist, he does not reduce the characters to Burtonian (or Freudian) specimens. As he remarks at one point, "acute psychological observation, rather than Burton, must account for touches like that" (82), and he even takes a kindly view of "the dramatic tradition of Shakespeare and Webster" (87) when it serves to bring Ford's reliance on Burton into question. He rightly sees Ford's strongest effect as pathos if not tragedy (55), although he is not willing to go so far as to emphasize the last line of the prologue to *The Broken Heart* ("You may pertake, a Pitty, with Delight") or connect it with the last line of *'Tis Pitty* or with Meleander's statement near the end of *The Lovers Melancholy*:

O, what a thing is man,
To bandy factions of distemper'd passions,
Against the sacred providence above him?
Here in the Legend of thy two yeeres exile,
Rare pity and delight are sweetly mixt . . . (2629-33).

It is in such speeches as this one and those of Tecnicus that the moral center of Ford's dramatic worlds is most clearly seen. Oliver sees it, if he does not define or articulate it, for he nowhere seriously

confuses Ford's highly-charged pity and sympathy for his main characters with moral approbation, as some critics have done. This in itself assures his book a permanent place in the annals of Ford criticism and gives it an immediate value for students of the drama.

Columbia University

S. F. JOHNSON

Milton, *Le Paradis reconquis (Paradise Regained)*, Etude critique, traduction et notes par Jacques Blondel (Paris: Aubier, 1955. 270 pp.). THE most valuable part of this book is its Introduction of 119 pages. The French translation that faces the English text is accurate, but its sometimes prolonged lines of free verse are not always infused with the "lyrisme qui conférera à la solitude du Christ au desert, un accent tout personnel et un rayonnement nouveau" (p. 41). As a whole, however, the rendering sensitively reflects the translator's appreciation of the poem as a stylistically perfect medium for Milton's conception of a beauty that consists in the search for truth. The notes (pp. 246-64) are here and there enriched with the results of the editor's research. The bibliography reflects his familiarity with all the modern criticism and scholarship relating to *Paradise Regained*.

Inevitably—since this edition is aimed at university students as well as general readers—the Introduction surveys French opinion of *Paradise Regained* from Voltaire to Taine and provides a taut summary of its action and a glance at its setting in Restoration London. The background is important for the ensuing interpretation of the poem as full of lyric feeling arising from convictions close to Milton's heart, and as reflecting the experience of his entire adult life. But the autobiographical aspect is not strained. Though the wisdom of Christ is treated as the conscious outgrowth of his creator's experience, his austerity is tellingly analyzed as dramatic—as the inevitable embattling of the spirit of the *agon* confronted by the adversary. The result for M. Blondel is a Michelangelesque Christ (p. 99), a figure *toto coelo* removed from M. Phelps-Morand's "unemotional, rather priggish sort of superman." The emergent character unites Milton's own "courants divers, mais non contradictoires en lui-même, du puritanisme et de l'humanisme" (p. 119). If the riches of ancient philosophy and literature are expressly denied in the making of the exemplary character of Milton's Christ, the spirit of Stoicism is no less definitely excluded. And the final determinant in the portrayal

is Milton's perception that, "La raison seule n'est pas capable de conduire l'homme dans la verité morale," and that faith must correct the too-exclusive rationalism of the Christology of his Platonizing friends at Cambridge.

Readers who do not share this view of the Christ of *Paradise Regained* will find it tested in the concluding study of the style as a fully adequate medium of "le lyrisme intellectuel" (p. 110) in which "le propos didactique ne constitue jamais un élément hétérogène que l'artiste s'efforcera de rendre assimilable" (p. 116). Proof is impossible, but the case does not suffer in the defense.

University of Wisconsin

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955. Vol. I: xiv + 171 pp. Vol. II: viii + 579 pp. Vol. III: x + 639 pp. Vol. IV: x + 654 pp. Vol. V: viii + 623 pp. Vol. VI: viii + 630 pp. \$50.40). IN April, 1813, the antiquary, William Bray, and the universal collector, William Upcott, went to Dorking to inventory the library of John Evelyn, which, owing to the misfortunes of a fire, had been stored in the coachhouse. They were entertained by Lady Evelyn, the widow of Sir Frederick, who was occupied in making a tippet of bird feathers. One topic of conversation led to another, and they found themselves progressing from feathers to the copper tokens issued by the Anglesea Copper Company to autographs and original letters, a normal gambit in a Surrey country house. "Autographs!" exclaimed Lady Evelyn (who does not appear to have been a bluestocking), "What do you mean by autographs?" Enlightened on this point by her learned visitors, the feather sewing lady summoned her confidential servant [Mrs] Smalley, and informed her guests that there was a manuscript collection in the house, which has furnished the kitchen with an abundance of waste paper." Smalley saw to it that wicker baskets of "autographs" were fetched down, and eventually the Diary appeared.

"Bless me," exclaimed her ladyship, "if here isn't old Sylva's Diary; why, I havn't seen it for years! I once lent it to Lord Harcourt, to Lord Liverpool, and to Mr. Bray, who wished me to print it. But I don't think it would interest the public, or prove of sufficient importance to repay the expense of printing."

This is Upcott reporting, but it could be Jane Austen.

As a direct result of the making of a bird feather tippet, the diary of John Evelyn got partially printed in 1818, and became one of the favorite books of the Nineteenth Century. Bray, its editor, was not, however, charmed by the whole text, for he printed little more than half. He omitted notices of meetings of the Royal Society and notes on sermons. He omitted sections that he thought too personal or of too indelicate a nature. When, for instance, on the last day of December, 1654, little Richard Evelyn almost choked to death on a ragged bone, his father, with the true virtuoso's instincts, sketched the bone for his diary; but Bray, the Georgian gentleman, omits the whole account. We may discover the difference between the received diary and the new one by looking at the accounts for the end of 1653/54.

BRAY

(Nov. 27) Omitted.

(Dec. 4) Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Sam. xxiii. 20: "And Benaiah went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow:" the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood, inferring that now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments; with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things grown to!

(No items until Jan. 20)

It is clear, I hope from this section chosen at random, that the diary on which Mr. de Beer has spent the better part of his life is fuller by far and more accurately set down than the one that has been standard.

The diary was written in a foul hand, as the illustrative pages in this edition clearly show. Even de Beer, who could model for Patience on her monument, is sometimes forced to leave a blank where the original is illegible. Evelyn was plainly keeping a record for

DE BEER

My son: *J. Standsfild* fell into Convulsive fits, which not long after carried him away.

'Til now I had met with no Phanatical Preachers, but going this day to our Church, I was surprized to see a Trades-man, a Mechanic step up, I was resolv'd yet to stay & see what he would make of it, his Text was 2. Sam. 23.20 and Benaiah sonn of Jehoiada . . . went downe also & slew a lion in the midst of a pit, in the time of Snow.

That no danger was to be thought difficult, when God call'd for sheading of blood inferring that now, the Saints were call'd to destroy, temporal Governments, with such truculent (anabaptisticall) stuff; so dangerous a Crisis were things growne to.

(Eleven items prior to Jan. 20)

himself; he was writing no letter to posterity. His record is really a set of personal notes—not unlike those that he printed as books—classified according to space and time. They were not always set down at the close of day; sometimes they summarize the experiences of a week or more. When he was on the Grand Tour, Evelyn often copied what he had seen, as de Beer discovered, from standard guidebooks. One can imagine that Evelyn found the diary handy for settling domestic disputes. "When did Dr. Bathurst dine with us? Why on October 8, 1667." It must have been a useful household referee. But the diary has other values for a modern, and they are not the ones that arise from that of Samuel Pepys. The latter diary warms our hearts. What a fellow, we think, envying him the result of his lithotomy, but not the operation itself. Pepys we should like to know; we might even take gin and cold mutton for breakfast if we could meet him. Evelyn is another sort of man.

The van der Borcht (?) portrait of c. 1641 displays Evelyn as an excessively elegant young man; whereas that by Walker seven years later shows a limp, relaxed, somewhat disordered, almost effeminate man. Both of these portraits and the Nanteuil drawing of 1650 have little in common beyond a general emptiness of expression and smugness of mouth. The Kneller portrait of 1689 preserves the long nose, but the mouth has tightened. The eyes are more alive, less sleepy, but there is an aloof lifting of the cheek that could be either kindness or contempt. The face is always well-bred, but is never the face of a man who has thought much or learned any humility. But physiognomy is a dead art; and the construction of the mind is seldom read in the face. Cowper, alone, of Eighteenth Century men of letters looks sane and modern; Samuel Johnson has the countenance of a manic-depressive. In Evelyn's case, we have the personal diary from which we can make a judgment.

The lottery of birth gave Evelyn aristocratic blood, and, better still, the necessary large aristocratic fortune. Thanks to the social licence of birth and cash, he went everywhere and was introduced to all. His opportunities in life make up many of the days in the diary, but few of them evoked an inner response, and when they did, it was totally superficial. For Evelyn, externals were the realities; and even when he is inwardly stirred, as he was at Stafford's trial, he merely expresses the ritualistic indignation of his class. In the main, he walked through galleries and counted the paintings; in museums he noted the rarities and was often impressed by the ridiculous. The

facades of buildings and of men interest him enormously. There is always the odor of the snob about his pages. He is amazed at the courage of men in lower walks of life. It is almost presumptuous. If a well-known preacher faces him of a Sunday—a bishop particularly—, we are given the heads of the sermon; at times, a resumé. But let “a stranger” preach, and we are fortunate to get the topic. The man never comes through, or rather, what comes through is not a man.

It is, perhaps, asking too much of a private English diary to reveal the complete inner character of the recorder, but when Evelyn is at his best, there is something that turns one away. He admits his Christianity on almost every page, but as he admits it, he informs even the modern agnostic that his religion hardly seeped below the inner structure of his skull. In 1651 he attended an interrogation of a suspected thief at the Grand Chatelet.

They first bound his wrists with a strong roope or smalle Cable, & one end of it to an iron ring made fast to the wall about 4 foote from the floore, & then his feete, with another cable, fastned about 6 foote farther than his uttmost length, to another ring on the floore of the roome, thus suspended, & yet lying but a slant; they slid an horse of wood under the rope which bound his feete, which so exceeding stiffned it, as severd the fellows joynts in miserable sort, drawing him out at length in an extraordinary manner, he having onely a paire of linnen drawers on his naked body: Then they question'd him of a robbery (the *Lieutennant* Criminal being present, & a cleerke that wrot) which not Confessing, they put an higher horse under the rope, to increase the torture & extension: In this Agonie confessing nothing, the Executioner with a horne (such as they drench horses with) stuck the end of it into his mouth, and pour'd the quantity of 2 boaketts of Water downe his throat, which so prodigiously swell'd him, face, Eyes ready to start, brest & all his limbs, as would have pittied & almost affrited one to see it; for all this he denied all was charged to him. . . . It represented yet to me, the intollerable suffering which our B: S: must needes undergo, when his blessed body was hanging with all its weight upon the nailes of the Crosse.

Only a pious snob would write the last sentence. Evelyn was, I am afraid, a collector of notes, of observations, of plants, of medals, of oddities, and of honors; he lacked the robustness of mind and the generosity of heart that make a man.

Mr. de Beer has edited the diary with a perfection that passes belief; in fact, this edition is likely to stand as the finest example of editorial skill that our age has produced. The fidelity of textual reproduction is complemented by the copious annotations, which are masterpieces of the expository art. Time and again, the reader wonders whether de Beer can possibly explain a difficult remark or allusion;

yet almost invariably he succeeds in overcoming what seems an unassailable obstacle. In this respect, de Beer, a private scholar, gives a lesson to the British professionals. One can seldom complain about the texts produced by English dons; they are usually accurate and supply the variations with Teutonic exactness. When they attempt annotation (a more difficult feat and one that is usually avoided), an unbelievable amateurishness, or, perhaps, a sensitive incuriosity, or childlike incomprehension trips them up and results in something at which a bright schoolboy would blush. They all can now look to de Beer for a model.

But few moderns are likely to read Evelyn through; his value is purely historical. Would one gather some crumbs about Dr. Tillotson, or Dr. Horneck, or Titus Oates, or Nicola Matteis, the violinist, etc., etc., the diary of Evelyn is a gold mine, a positivist's vademecum. In the previous editions, one thumbed through for this information, but the last volume of this, splendid work is one of the most complete indexes that I have ever seen. Evelyn, thanks to it, comes now to the service of the historian, and may finally be used properly. I can now hope that the same editor will turn his practised hand to the letters, which have a mild literary value and which also must have suffered from the ministrations of antiquary Bray.

The Johns Hopkins University

D. C. ALLEN

Benjamin Boyce, *The Polemic Character 1640-1661* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1955. 160 pp. \$2.75). THE late C. N. Greenough's investigation of the so-called Theophrastan character in English came to fruition in his bibliography of the subject, prepared for publication by J. Milton French. On the basis of that work Benjamin Boyce made his independent study, *The Theophrastan Character in English to 1642* (1947), in which he analysed and described the brief discourses on various types of bad men by the fourth-century Greek known as Theophrastus and their various imitations and adaptations in English, beginning with Joseph Hall and continuing down to the outbreak of civil war in 1642. The present work carries on the study to the Restoration. Theophrastus' sketches as set in circulation by Casaubon's text and Latin translation were well designed to invite imitation by such a person as Joseph Hall, a facile writer of quick didactic temper which found expression in rather ponderous moralizing and brow-beating satire. Following

his lead the form was taken up by other sententious moralists of similar education and outlook of which the seventeenth century produced an abundance. The result was the emergence of something like a set form or genre which the literary scholar has been able to trace through a number of variations down the highways and byways, but especially the byways, of literary history. When the investigator is so knowledgeable a researcher as Mr. Boyce and the trail leads through so animated a period as the first half of the seventeenth century, the result can not be anything but delightful. One has the pleasure of encountering figures one has met before saying things one has heard before but saying them for once in an amusing way. As a genre moreover, for one interested in investigating such things, the Theophrastan character has certain attractive features. In form it is brief but neatly balanced and nicely rounded, in theme and purpose limited and precise. Its stigmata are easy to recognize and identify. One can know as one proceeds from Hall to Earle to Overbury to, say, John Gere and John Cook what to look for. But one finds it, that is without straining, only up to a point, the point at which the character in its pure simplicity, like other merely literary forms and devices, is seized upon and overborne in very use by forces seeking expression which are anything but literary in origin and character and by which literary forms and devices of all sorts may be employed but always as means and never as ends. When everything is subordinated to the needs of propaganda, anything in literature may be used but nothing will be true or pure in form.

In the frenetic free-for-all of puritan revolutionary debate almost anybody with an idea for saving the world in his own way or for keeping somebody else from saving it in his was likely to think it necessary and to find it possible to hurry into print, the most sophisticated literary artist or the most unlettered scribbler. Milton himself confessed that in his haste to serve the church he could allow himself no time to take pains with form and style, and the ordinary pamphleteer felt even less compunction in misappropriating any literary mode with which he had any familiarity to his use in fluent disregard of literary decorum. The modes of discourse so carefully differentiated in critical theory, as Milton would have had them, are commingled in the polemic literature of the period, in Milton as well as others, in most admired confusion—the scholastic disputation and the classical oration, the sermon with its biblical analogs and types, heavy-handed satire and abusive flyting, exemplum, beast fable, allegory,

moral tale, dramatic dialogue, and spiritual biography. And not surprisingly something recognizably derived from character-writing turns up every now and then along with everything else in the pamphlets as a way of taking off an opponent. Mr. Boyce properly notes how Milton made incidental use of the character in *Areopagitica*, a pamphlet of which the main device was of course the classical oration. Mr. Boyce also notes many other such instances in other pamphlets, and he might easily have added a good many more from such controversialists as Edwards and Walwyn and even from the sermons of such a preacher as Stephen Marshall. He would also find a rich vein of such material in the clandestine abusive Mercuries of the Protectorate.

But at the conclusion of such a study so consistently and discerningly carried through one is left with the question, what after all is the significance of all this in the history of literature as distinguished from the history of the great revolutionary movement which so bent literature into other shapes and directions? May it not be that to study the confusion of genre at such a time may be more fruitful for literature itself than to study a particular genre? The Theophrastan character in its strict original form was never a thing of major literary importance. No writer with much to say was able to do much with it, let alone accomplish by its aid any of the tremendous purposes for which men were presently writing their hearts out and their heads off. The character got used as a handy weapon along with other things, but it got converted or corrupted to satire, and that presently was something else again.

Folger Library

WILLIAM HALLER

Sister M. Bernetta Quinn, *The Metamorphic Tradition in Modern Poetry* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1955. 263 pp. \$4.50).

TOWARD the end of Sister Bernetta Quinn's book, at the conclusion of her chapter on Randall Jarrell's poetry, there is a very promising passage:

Essence, substance (defined as that which makes a thing what it is, regardless of accidents) having been rejected by certain modern philosophers in favor of "A thing is what it seems to me or what I think it is," the conversion of one thing into another is no longer exclusively an imaginative account of origins designed to provide courtly entertainment as in Ovid, or even a poetic representation of the verities of daily conscious and subconscious experience,

as in the folklore collected by nineteenth-century scholars. It is an attempt to go back to that principle of change, natural to the child and common in dreams, in order to live more adequately our mortal measure of years. (P. 206.)

Even if one would revise and complicate her paraphrase of "certain modern philosophers" somewhat, and object a little to her description of Ovid's design, one would have to agree that the "attempt to go back to that principle of change" is crucial to our poetry. It might have been the organizing expression for a very coherent and suggestive account of the major attitudes of our major poets, a convenient way to range them side by side and one against the other, a way to see them as convincingly belonging to the same age. Certainly the notion that change is the unchanging principle of things goes far toward the heart, in one way of Stevens, in another of Williams, in still another of Yeats, and if it does not seem so true of Eliot, it defines at least many of the things he has been reacting *against*, an attitude to which the *Four Quartets* are the principal modern reply. It might have been possible, guided by such a notion, to explain how it is, in Stevens and Yeats anyway, and possibly in Williams, that the acceptance of change as a principle of things gets to be a sort of absolutism, a Platonic idealism, of its own. Our poetry is at once remarkably secular and remarkably "metaphysical," if not religious, in tone, and this defines the chief problem of its historian. One would be grateful for a plain and full account of how this is so.

But Sister Bernetta's book, admirable as it is in many details, is not that account. There is much to admire here, in her wide reading among the poets, her enormously rich acquaintance with contemporary critics, and many aspects of her elucidations of poems—especially of *Paterson* and of the poems of Randall Jarrell. But the total effect of her book is of a rather unfocussed collection of examples, rather than a cohesive argument *using* examples. Her bibliography is very useful, and her book too, and both in the same ways, reminding us of passages in modern poetry where change is important, reminding us of a great number of critical remarks on the poets and telling us of others we may never have seen, but not, it seems to me, using either the poetry or the criticism to develop a really intelligible theory or even a consistent point of view. The poetry is too often hardly criticized or examined at all, but merely submitted to our gaze, good, bad and indifferent examples of it, without distinctions; the quoted criticism likewise. Everything seems useful for her purpose and everything equally so. Too often her purpose seems to be merely to reiterate

that metamorphosis is important for these poets, and that many people have noticed this. Pound, Eliot, Crane, Stevens, Williams, Jarrell, Yeats, the seven poets she deals with here, all are aware of vicissitude, impermanence, as a problem, and of metamorphosis, re-creation, rebirth, transformation, as possible answers to that problem, but exactly how this is so, and how the answers really differ from poet to poet is never made entirely clear, at least not to this reader. One way or another, the materials for the study we need are all present in this book, but they are not shaped into an argument. If one kind of metamorphosis, vicissitude, is to be dealt with by another, say re-creation, this is an interesting formula. Sister Bernetta goes a long way toward marking out the area for study, and some of the way in studying it, by putting so many of the materials before us. But the important study of this material has still to be done.

Wellesley College

DAVID FERRY

James Root Hulbert, *Dictionaries: British and American* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 107 pp. \$2.50). THE co-editor of the Dictionary of American English gives us, in this little book for laymen, a concise history of English lexicography (pp. 12-45) and a concise account of how a dictionary is made (45-86). He adds sections on English dictionaries of limited scope (86-89), dictionaries of slang (89-95), the use of a dictionary (95-96), how to read etymologies (96-98), the significance of the first quotation in a historical dictionary (98-99), the authority of a dictionary (99-101), and the choice of a dictionary (102). The book ends with an index of two and a half pages. The author has an easy, pleasant style, and knows what he is talking about. One hopes that his book will be widely read.

Like many another work, this one is not free from faults. I have noted a number of unhappy statements, but have space for only one:

Unfortunately some dictionaries complicate matters and mislead those who consult them for etymologies by citing the Middle English form as the first item in the etymology. Yet there is no etymological significance in the M. E. form, and no more point in giving it than there would be in citing a sixteenth-century spelling of the word [p. 96].

Apparently it did not occur to the author that the same could be said, with equal propriety or impropriety, of the Old English form. In

fact, of course, the etymology of an English word proceeds from the earliest recorded form of that word. This form, whatever its date (OE, ME, 16th century, or 20th century as the case may be), makes no part of the etymology proper but serves as the point of departure for the etymology and is therefore properly given at the beginning of the etymological discussion, unless it serves also as the entry form, in which case there is no point in repeating it. For examples see the NED *passim*.

The Johns Hopkins University

KEMP MALONE

Edward D. Sullivan, *Maupassant the Novelist* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. xv + 199 pp. \$4.00). IN the first part of his excellently documented essay, Professor Sullivan deals with Maupassant's ideas on literature. This first part is almost purely expository. The second part, which treats of the novels, is more critical: the analysis of the work is accompanied at each step by an evaluation. An appendix reproduces three *chroniques* of Maupassant ("for the first time since their original appearance"). A selected bibliography and an index are included. Each item of the bibliography is given a brief definition and evaluation.

Professor Sullivan has left aside the better part of Maupassant's publications (the short stories) in order to study two relatively neglected domains. He tries to connect these two domains, without quite succeeding in giving an organic unity to his essay. It is to be hoped that Professor Sullivan's work is a preliminary step for a more complete examination of Maupassant the writer and the man.

Though the author considers that Maupassant's ideas on literature deserve more notice than has been granted them so far, he does not try to present Maupassant as a major critic or theorist. Maupassant's remarks are, as a matter of fact, neither better nor worse than most pronouncements of XIXth and XXth century writers. If his comments are less pretentious, they are no less lacking in precision and coherence. Like most of his colleagues, Maupassant uses terms like "truth," "nature," "reality," as demagogic catch-words rather than as philosophical question-marks.

Maupassant is said to have accepted Zola's formula ("la nature vue à travers un tempérament") as the "clearest and most perfect definition of literature in general." Actually, it is so vague a formula

as to be practically insignificant. All depends on what is meant by "nature."

Maupassant insists on a "sincere presentation" and scorns the "rose-colored glasses of poetry." But for certain people, to be "rosy" is to be "sincere." The word "reality," in its common use, is implicitly associated with difficulty and ugliness. "Facts" are invariably supposed to be "hard." But there are "soft" facts. And certain "realities" may be a relief from certain "dreams." The choice of the novelist does not lie between reality and dream. What he has to choose is the way in which he will present reality-and-dream. Will he be critical, indifferent, starry-eyed? On the whole, Maupassant chose criticism ("reality"), which, I think, is the right choice for a social novelist. The question then would be: Is Maupassant's "realism" (i. e. criticism) purposeful?

There is also the golden legend of the *mot juste*, inherited from Flaubert. Is the search for the *mot juste* more than a mock-religious smoke-screen? A misnomer at least: the *mot juste* appears to be either a traditional epithet or an alliance of words imposed and made fashionable by the vision and art of an original writer. What appeared a *mot juste* to Maupassant may no longer appeal to us as such.

It is on Maupassant's preference for the "objective" method that Professor Sullivan relies in order to connect the two parts of his study. Yet, at the same time, he lays stress on a technical evolution in the sequence of Maupassant's novels. He deftly maps out the short-story teller's search for a valid novelistic technique.

The opposition between "objective" and "psychological" methods refers to a difference in dosage rather than to a radical difference in approach. Even in his most "objective" efforts Maupassant does not stick to a strictly behavioristic outlook. Today the opposition has lost much of its importance. Both methods appear basically alike in so far as they are both indirect. A tremendous step has been taken since Maupassant in the field of novelistic technique. The adepts of the "objective" method today (see, for instance, Robbe-Grillet) are not disciples of Maupassant's practice (the theory is another matter) any more than the adepts of the "psychological" technique are disciples of Bourget. The advent of the cinema has intervened in the development of the "objective" method. If Maupassant's technique seems so outmoded and clumsy today, it is chiefly because he lived in the first century Before the Cinema.

And he lacks the asset which permits the modern reader to forget the clumsiness of, say, Balzac: a powerful, comprehensive vision of the social man. Professor Sullivan's able examination of Maupassant's efforts to become a novelist may also be construed as a study of the efforts of a minor writer to turn into a major writer. Maupassant was supremely gifted as a regional writer. For a regional writer to turn into a major writer, some sort of "spark" is needed, which changes the outlook. This particular "spark" can sometimes be found in Faulkner. Professor Sullivan does not claim to have found it in Maupassant. He makes us feel Maupassant's discouragement as it is manifested through the characters of *Fort comme la mort* and *Notre Cœur*. The "spark" did not come. At least not in time: the unfinished project of *L'Angélus* promised much more than the published novels had achieved.

Professor Sullivan's analysis of the novels is perceptive, his comments sensible, his praise measured. It is only in the introduction and in the conclusion that he places Maupassant the novelist on a lofty pedestal by singling out *Bel Ami* and *Pierre et Jean* as "two very great novels."

Indiana University

ROBERT CHAMPIGNY

Heinrich Lausberg, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft. I. Einleitung und Vokalismus. II. Konsonantismus*. Sammlung Götschen, vols. 128/128a and 250 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1956. I, 160 pp.; II, 95 pp.). STUDENTS and teachers of romance linguistics will be grateful to Professor Lausberg for this excellent introduction, which replaces Adolf Zauner's well-known handbook, published in the same series thirty-five years ago. Lausberg has not, however, simply revised Zauner's work, but has written an entirely new book, different both in scope and in presentation from its forerunner.

Lausberg begins with a brief sketch of the external history of each of the romance languages (pp. 16-35), followed by an excellent brief account of the forces which destroyed the linguistic unity of the Roman Empire (pp. 36-46). He is, however, primarily concerned with the internal history of the romance languages. His treatment of romance phonology, much fuller and more precise than Zauner's, especially in its consideration of archaic and dialectal forms, is, nevertheless, equally easy to use, thanks in part to an abundance of cross-references.

Lausberg's earlier studies in diachronic phonemics had done much to strengthen our awareness of the fact that changes in individual sounds may often best be explained in terms of the successive reshaping of the sound-system of the language in question. In the present book, he has followed the more traditional course of presenting his material in terms of the changes in individual sounds and, as a rule, with no attempt at a structural explanation; given the very restricted space at his disposal, he could hardly have done otherwise. The explanations which he has been able to include are models of clarity and conciseness. Here, for example, is his treatment of the development of French [y] from Latin Ū:

Die Annahme, daß [dieser Lautwandel] auf keltischem Substrat beruhe, ist unbewiesen. Da er—außer im Inselkeltischen—auch in vielen anderen Sprachen (z. B. im Griech., Schwed., Albanes.) vorkommt, ist wohl eher "spontaner" Ursprung anzunehmen: er scheint durch eine Überladung der velaren Qualitätenskala bedingt zu sein (es ist schwerer, Hinterzungenvokale zu unterscheiden als Vorderzungenvokale), wobei ein Ausweichen von *u* nach *ü* die velare Skala entlastet. Die Überlastung der velaren Qualitätenskala scheint bei der Aufgabe der lat. Quantitäten eingetreten zu sein, wo an die Stelle zweier Velarvokale (*o*, *u*) drei traten (*o*, *ø*, *u*) (I, p. 113).

It is to be hoped that the promised third volume, containing morphology and syntax, will soon be available.

The Johns Hopkins University

THOMAS R. HART, JR.

Alice Green Fredman, *Diderot and Sterne* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1955. 264 pp.). THE relationship between Sterne and Diderot has been discussed thus far predominantly from the point of view of the latter's indebtedness to or independence of the former. Mrs. Fredman deliberately chooses a different approach: she takes up the question of influence only incidentally and directs her inquiry upon the kinship of the two authors as personalities and as authors of narrative works. In her laudable desire to dismiss the tedious question of influence, Mrs. Fredman is at times somewhat unfair to those who dealt with that question before; not all have subjected their investigation to the problem of plagiarism or borrowing; on the contrary, R. L. Cru and Charles S. Baldwin, to name but two, have made excellent observations on the esthetics and narrative technique of Diderot and Sterne, i. e. on the very theme of the present book. However, no one has taken up these issues as directly as Mrs.

Fredman does, or has dealt with them in such detail. Nor have they been seen, as they are here, in the broader perspective of a development of literary practices and esthetic criteria from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Mrs. Fredman occasionally describes this development, in terms introduced by A. O. Lovejoy, as that of a change from uniformitarianism (represented by neo-classicism) to diversitarianism, (represented by romanticism). These categories, which are as unattractive as the existentialist's jargon, are used in a pseudo-historical way: fundamental divergencies in man's perception and interpretation of reality are transformed into "historical" categories and used to periodize the past. This procedure is a common feature of neo-Hegelianism, from which literary history ought to free itself.

It is probably also due to this form of thinking that Mrs. Fredman develops her theme in a series of antitheses: Diderot and Sterne are put together on one side and "the other writers" are placed opposite; the way in which Diderot's relationship to Sterne has been presented thus far is generically opposed to the way in which it ought to be presented; there are also the antitheses between the open, experimental, free mind and the normative and restrictive mind, between the inhibitions and formalizing tendencies of neo-classicism and the spontaneity and freedom of the opposite trend, between man in general and man as individual, between the living experience and the abstract theme.

This sort of generalized antithetical thinking leads to exaggerated claims for the side one favors and to excessive simplification as well as unjust underrating of the side one opposes. The very substance and value of literary interpretation: the art of differentiation, the shading of concepts, the analysis of transitional forms, is lost. In her propensity for confronting, Mrs. Fredman also establishes antitheses which falsify the multiple interactions and exchanges of man's faculties: sentimentality is not, as the author suggests, opposed to irony, nor does the presence of strong or even vehement feelings preclude their objectivation in a work of art. Certainly Mrs. Fredman's observation is true for some artists; but it does not permit us to establish a general rule or to form an esthetic theory.

However, it is only fair to stress that there are many sections in Mrs. Fredman's confrontation of Sterne and Diderot that are free from the danger of antithetical thinking. Wherever the author compares concrete forms of literary expression, or similarities as well as divergencies of temperament, orientation and purpose in Sterne and

Diderot, she is quite to the point and evinces a subtle perception of artistic forms and esthetic values as well as good understanding of the broader meaning of these issues. The analysis of the various elements and aspects of Sterne's and Diderot's humor contains much that is novel; the section entitled "New Fictional Directives" is one of the best pieces we have on the narrative art of the eighteenth century; and the author's claim that there is much purpose and deliberation, as well as skillful composition, in the seemingly rambling and artless style of Sterne and Diderot is set forth eloquently and convincingly.

However, one may question a few details: in the chapter on sensibility, too much importance is given to English influence in the formation and orientation of this current of feeling. It seems to me also that the author should have distinguished more clearly between emotion, passion and "sensibilité," above all in her defense of these faculties. In the chapter entitled "Fictional Theories and Practices," I seem to notice an occasional confusion between the problem of the creation of the illusion of reality in art, on one side, and the lack of distinction between reality and illusion on the part of Sterne's and Diderot's fictional characters. The chapter on style would have gained in clarity if a distinction had been made between problems of vocabulary, of syntax and of style. The author should also have separated epistemological from literary problems of language; these two, in turn, must be separated from reflections on the actual use of the language.

Despite the author's intention of studying literary form and expression in Sterne and Diderot, there is still a great deal of general philosophy in the present book. The discussion of Sterne's and Diderot's esthetic and fictional *theories*, either as expressed directly or as implied in their literary techniques, outweighs at times the analysis of definite themes, of concrete stylistic features, of resemblance or difference of structure. On the other hand, the author has in most cases remarkably well avoided one of the pitfalls of comparative studies, the deadening enumeration of points of similarity and contrast. The old rule of logic which states that two can only be compared with regard to a third, is all too rarely observed by comparatists.

Harvard University

HERBERT DIECKMANN

Andreas Gryphius, *Carolus Stuardus*, ed. Hugh Powell (Leicester: University College, 1955. cxli + 132 pp.). THIS edition of *Carolus Stuardus* is intended to counteract "the serious neglect which the study of [German] seventeenth-century drama has suffered in British universities" (p. vii) and at the same time to provide a critical edition based on sounder principles than those followed by Tittmann for his reprint of the 1657 version and Palm for his of the 1663 one. The text offered is that of *Freuden und Trauer-Spiele* (1663), with original punctuation and orthography scrupulously preserved, except for the correction of what the editor regards as indubitable misprints. (Less certain corrections are noted in the "Commentary.") All except orthographical variations between the 1663 text and that of 1657 are recorded in the usual manner. So high is the editor's standard of accuracy that he even retains *Fraktur* in his Introduction for quotations from post-Baroque writers, omits end punctuation when his sentences terminate with a quotation that does not itself have end punctuation, and has periods in the middle of his sentences when a phrase there cited has end punctuation in its original context. Occasionally he seems over-scrupulous, as when he cites (p. xlii) the line "Weil ich. Das Feuer nicht ein erster Leib bewehrt:" (the point after the *h* is high enough in the original text to have been the upper half of a colon); the scholar will not complain, although the student for whom the Introduction has been written may be puzzled long enough to lose the thread of the editor's argument at such a point. (The editor has apparently fallen under the spell of seventeenth-century German habits of punctuation, for his own use of the comma adds to the confusion produced by his practice of faithful quotation by failing to differentiate between restrictive clauses and non-restrictive ones.)

The foregoing observations should not be taken as strictures on the editor's lengthy introduction, about half of which treats Gryphius' life, *Weltanschauung* and works, while the other half is concerned with *Carolus Stuardus* (Form, Dramatic Technique, Sources, etc.). There are also a few pages on seventeenth-century drama and a dozen pages on "The Cultural Background to Seventeenth-Century German Literature," these last, like the whole introduction, excellently cautious and notably free of hasty generalizations based on isolated factors only. The scholar will find the editor's analyses of seventeenth-century thought and feeling helpfully clarifying, although their greatest value will be for the student still unfamiliar with the period. (The latter

seems forgotten only once, on p. lvi, when "braune Nacht" is used as though it were a self-explanatory allusion.) Although college text and scholarly edition are usually irreconcilable, the level at which this edition would be used in teaching is such that it can properly fulfill its two purposes simultaneously.

Harvard University

STUART ATKINS

Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, 2nd revised edition, Vol. I, fascicle 1, and Vol. XIV, fascicle 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag/Düsseldorf: Ehlermann, 1955. 240 pp.). E. Castle, ed., *Carl Künzels "Schilleriana." Briefe an Schiller und Schillers Familienmitglieder nach den Abschriften im Besitz des Wiener Goethe-Vereins* (Vienna: Rohrer, 1955. 202 pp.). Klaus Jonas, *Fifty Years of Thomas Mann Studies. A Bibliography of Criticism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1955. xxi + 217 pp. \$5.00). Edmund P. Kremer, *German Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases with their English Counterparts* (Stanford: Univ. Press, 1955. viii + 116 pp. \$3.00). Axel Lindquist, *Deutsches Kultur- und Gesellschaftsleben im Spiegel der Sprache*, transl. from Swedish by Karl Witthalm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955. 172 pp.). THE first fascicles of volumes I and XIV are the most recent additions to the currently appearing second revised edition of Karl Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, which is being prepared and published by the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin under the direction of Professor Leopold Magon. Fascicle I of Vol. I gives first a survey of general and specialized bibliographies of the period 1830-1880 and then presents the individual authors in alphabetical sequence, beginning with Abenseth and ending with Altmüller. This revised edition replaces the installment of 1940 covering the same material. Fascicle I of Vol. XIV includes not only the literature which appeared in northeastern Germany between the years 1815 and 1830, but also German literature written outside the boundaries of Germany as they existed at that time (i. e., the Baltic provinces, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and America). It, too, contains both general and specialized bibliographies. There is no need to stress the importance of this basic bibliographical work for every scholar interested in German literature.

Although Professor Eduard Castle's recent publication of "Schiller-

iana," originally collected by Carl Künzel, is not based on the originals of letters to Schiller and various members of his family, but on copies now in the possession of the Vienna Goethe Society, this material is of great importance to future Schiller research. Printed with the financial assistance of friends of the Austrian *Akademie der Wissenschaften* and included in the *Sitzungsberichte* (vol. 229, 3) of the philosophical-historical section, it also is intended to serve as a book to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Schiller's death. The presentation of the texts, the notes, and other additions is in the best editorial tradition.

Jonas' Mann bibliography is selective (in the sense that newspaper articles and brief notices have been eliminated when they were felt not to contain information of value to critics or future biographers) and attempts to cover in full only the years between 1902, the first year in which articles on *Buddenbrooks* appeared, and 1951, the year in which *Der Erwählte* was published. The entries for *Die Betrogene* and *Die Bekenntnisse des Felix Krull* are incomplete. An honest attempt has been made to list to the greatest extent possible articles in all languages. As one would expect, however, the number of items from the Iron Curtain countries is small indeed. The entries are grouped under eighteen topical headings which enable the user to find readily all materials pertaining to any particular aspect of Mann's life or work; and the two carefully prepared indices make it possible to locate items by author and subject matter. The last section, entitled "Research in Progress," lists all books and dissertations in progress known to the author at the time of publication of the bibliography. This bibliography will be a most useful tool to all scholars working on Thomas Mann.

As a brief and pregnant criticism or commentary on human life the proverb is always a valuable index to the thought of a people. Kremer's recently published collection of over 1500 German-language proverbs is hence a most useful reference work for anyone interested in the history of German civilization. A commendable feature of this collection is Kremer's judicious choice of the English or American counterpart of the proverbs listed, for these both express the sense of the original German accurately and emphasize essential differences in national attitudes. This is a book which should be in every university library.

Lindquist's study was first published in Swedish in 1942 (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget A. Bonnier). The work has been

thoroughly revised and extended for this second edition in German, but the revisions have unfortunately not resulted in any material improvement.

The Johns Hopkins University

WILLIAM H. McCLAIN
HEINRICH SCHNEIDER

Albert Schneider, *Georg Christoph Lichtenberg Précurseur du Romantisme. L'Homme et l'Oeuvre* (Nancy: Univ. de la Sarre, 1954. 327 pp.). G. C. Lichtenberg *Penseur* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954. 177 pp.). THOUGH neither of these studies, both of which derive from the same Sorbonne dissertation (1950), makes any novel contribution to Lichtenberg research, they deserve favorable comment. For they are written with a Gallic clarity and simplicity, a warmth and sympathy, that may well achieve for them their stated aim: to familiarize French readers with the famous German satirist. To be sure, during the revision prior to publication—each work was to be independent of the other—, it would not have been amiss to dispense with some of the dissertation headings and to consolidate the material, particularly in view of the large public in mind, but on the whole the style is suited to the purpose.

One may well recommend these studies to American readers. Certainly they will find the positivistic approach appealing, especially if they have ever had to penetrate the cosmic sensitivities of some modern German critics. And Lichtenberg is a man whom cultured Americans should know. One of Göttingen's greatest satirists and humorists, he is unusual for his wonderful balance of humor, wit, intellect, common sense, and heart-felt sympathy for his fellow men. Nietzsche ranked him with his contemporary Goethe as one of the few great German men of letters. In 1952 a delegation of Göttingen students in behalf of their alma mater presented the University of North Carolina with Lichtenberg's collected works as a symbol of academic freedom, an indication of the esteem in which he is still held. He is also one of the few German writers who really mastered the English language.

Schneider's first study contains a detailed biography and a survey of the more important works. The biography is essentially in agreement with the monographs by Wilhelm Grenzmann, but has the advantage of being more accurate than Grenzmann's lengthy biography (326 pp. 1939) and more detailed than Grenzmann's intro-

duction to the *Gesammelte Werke* (1949). What actually was to be the authoritative Lichtenberg biography by Otto Deneke is still incomplete. The first volume (263 pp.), which appeared in 1944 and covers the years 1742-1775, has been incorporated in its main features by Schneider. Until Deneke's second volume appears (Deneke is now eighty years old), Schneider's may well remain the best complete biography. He admits to having benefited from secondary sources but sought "à donner à notre livre le caractère d'un ouvrage de première main." In this he has succeeded through numerous, apt references to the original sources.

Lichtenberg's stay in England is particularly stimulating reading, and George III is seen in unusual perspective as kindly patron and amateur astronomer. An intimate and understanding insight is furnished into the scholar's unusual romances with "Mädchen aus dem Volke," from whom he, no doubt, sought affection because his deformity made him uncomfortable in the presence of women of his own class.

The discussion of the principal works consists of short summaries within a framework of informative background material and occasional pertinent comments. The material is divided in the following categories: (1) didactic; (2) humorous, satirical, polemical; (3) dramatic criticism and literature; (4) commentary to the engravings (of Daniel Chodowiecki and the English artist William Hogarth); (5) narrative; (6) correspondence; (7) diaries. Lichtenberg is most famous for his satires, especially those directed against Lavater and the Storm and Stress writers, and for his aphorisms.

The subtitle of this volume, *Précurseur du Romantisme*, seems misplaced, since there is only incidental mention of Lichtenberg's preromanticism. It would have been more appropriate to apply this subtitle to the second study in which the thread of pre-romanticism is traced with consistency through the various fields of Lichtenberg's thought. There is an excellent bibliography of almost 400 titles.

Lichtenberg Penseur contains without doubt the meat of the original dissertation. It carries through with precision and clarity its announced task of analyzing the scholar's ideas in the principal fields of thought, but it also reveals romantic elements wherever they appear. Here it must be said that Schneider uses the term romanticism in the broader sense to include the vigorous subjectivity of the Storm and Stress movement. Lichtenberg's emphasis on experience as opposed to sterile, encyclopedic learning, on constructive effort in science,

his preference for creative writing to criticism, his insistence that both scientist and writer beyond their specialities had to be "whole" men, are interpreted by Schneider as a link not only with the Storm and Stress writers, but also with romanticism.

Some further high-points in Lichtenberg's thought developed in this study may be indicated. He was a great advocate of scientific method and creative research. He laid the groundwork for a number of modern inventions, several of which he foresaw and with a kinder Fate might have invented. Politically he believed with Herder in the organic state. He favored constitutional monarchy and alas! his blind devotion to the English Crown led him to condemn the American revolutionaries. Socially he believed in equality before the law. Ethically he felt that action in accordance with nature was fundamentally right. As a sceptical rationalist he disliked philosophical systems but was acquainted with the major thinkers including Leibniz and the French and English schools. In the 1780's he came to accept the Kantian notions of time and space and later Spinoza's pantheism. An enemy of orthodox theology, he felt for the major part of his life that all religions had great and equal value. In his last decade, when instinct, intuition, and feeling came to assume equal rank with reason (the major period of his preromanticism!), he believed with Lessing that religion was dynamic and progressive, and that Christianity, now conceived by him as the most perfect religion, would one day evolve into a rational mysticism like that of Spinoza.

In this study, also, there is ample background material provided to explain the various problems and currents peculiar to the eighteenth century. An abbreviated bibliography is included, as well as an index for both volumes—despite the fact that each volume was to be independent of the other!

University of North Carolina

HERBERT W. REICHERT

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Selected Letters: 1788-1832*, ed., Barker Fairley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955. xvii + 231 pp.). Hans M. Wolff, *Goethes Novelle 'Die Wahlverwandtschaften.' Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1955. 86 pp. Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology, 43). IN his reconstruction of the first version of Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* Wolff carries on a twofold argument for which, he tells us,

he could not find the space in his earlier work on *Goethe in der Periode der Wahlverwandtschaften* (Franke Verlag, Bern 1952). First, he seeks to demonstrate that such a reconstruction is, indeed, feasible and secondly, that, once achieved, it would serve as incontrovertible proof of his thesis, postulated in the earlier study, that Goethe's work far from being a "didactic novel championing the sanctity of marriage" was, in fact, a disquisition on the relationship of "general ethical law represented by Charlotte to the principle of personality represented by Eduard." (Vorwort).

Wolff's reconstruction cannot be said to furnish such proof. It rests on the assumption that this first version can be arrived at by the simple device of wholesale excisions from the final one, an assumption implying that Goethe proceeded from the first to the final version by equally simplistic, mechanical addition. Such proof as is adduced for the soundness of this assumption is insufficient to convince this reviewer. Moreover, the very method of cutting is, in turn, based on two further assumptions which seem equally offhand: first, that there were no peripheral figures, in particular no Mittler in the first version; secondly, that Goethe had envisaged, originally, only the infatuation of Eduard and Ottilie but not that of the Hauptmann and Charlotte. While the first claim is left altogether without substantiation (the brief reference on pp. 25/26 surely carries insufficient weight), the second is argued in a manner which fails to inspire confidence. We cannot, of course, reproduce Wolff's argument *in toto*, though it is brief enough; two salient passages must suffice to illustrate its nature. It is claimed that chapter twelve had for its original purpose the setting forth of the love of Eduard and Ottilie, that the Hauptmann-Charlotte scene was introduced into the final version as an afterthought, „erst am Schluss (!) erfahren wir in Form einer nachträglichen(!) Erinnerung, dass sich der Hauptmann und Charlotte ebenfalls ihre Liebe eingestanden und sich schon zur Entsagung entschlossen haben." Using this statement as his clinching evidence, Wolff feels justified in asserting: „Da sich auch diese Stelle ohne weiteres streichen lässt, dürfen wir sie ebenfalls dem Jahre 1809 zuweisen." As a matter of fact, a reexamination of the chapter (Part I, final version) shows the Hauptmann-Charlotte episode to constitute a very significant portion of the unit, to be in very fine balance with the Eduard-Ottilie scene and, though second to it in sequence, by no means in the nature of an appendage, "nachträglich" and "am Schluss."

Turning to the important fourth chapter (Part I, final version) Wolff continues his case against an elective affinity between the Hauptmann and Charlotte in the original version by quoting the following words of Charlotte: "In dem gegenwärtigen Falle dauert mich nur die arme Luftsäure, die sich wieder im Unendlichen herumtreiben muss." He then makes the obvious identification of Charlotte and the "arme Luftsäure" and considers it safe to conclude: "Wenn das Gespräch über die Elemente als symbolische Vorwegnahme des Konfliktes gelten darf, dann kann die alte Fassung nur von *einer* Liebe, der Eduards und Ottiliens, gehandelt haben." Nowhere does Wolff refer to the highly essential portions of the "Gespräch," the speeches of the Hauptmann which, as we remember, lead up to the unequivocal statement: "A wird sich zu D, C zu B werfen, ohne dass man sagen kann, wer das andere zuerst verlassen, wer sich mit dem andern zuerst wieder verbunden habe." Nor does Wolff omit these words from his reconstruction of the first version! Surely we have here a striking case of "partial interpretation." Following Wolff's method one could even argue that the real elective affinity exists between Eduard and the captain by basing one's case on Eduard's remark: "Am Ende bin ich in deinen Augen der Kalk, der vom Hauptmann, als einer Schwefelsäure, ergriffen, deiner anmutigen Gesellschaft entzogen und in einen refraktären Gips verwandelt wird."

Unquestionably, there is much that is stimulating and challenging in Wolff's effort yet we leave it with the hope that the author will return to the task with renewed energy and greater circumspection to furnish us with a convincing reconstruction of the illusive first version.

Fairley's selections from Goethe's letters of the years 1788—1832 are a welcome sequel to his splendid collection of Goethe letters from the years 1770—1786 (Blackwell, 1949). In a vigorous, incisive manner the brief introduction defines the salient features of this group of letters and defining, sheds light on the attitudes and habits, the moods and views of the mature and the aging Goethe, and on "his growing deliberateness."

Once we move into the letters themselves, we are at once made aware of the rich experience and fine tact of our guide. With sure judgment, Fairley chooses the most meaningful, most characteristic and often the most dramatic letters weaving them into an enthralling record of Goethe's inner and outer life. The unavoidable leaps in time and place, from correspondent to correspondent, in such a

collection do not detract from, they rather enhance its impact on the reader, its liveliness, its startling effects. One moment we are eavesdropping on Goethe at his most intimate, consoling and counselling his wife, his "liebes Kind," in her domestic cares and troubles: "Tröste dich ja über deine Gurken und Sorge recht schön für alles, du machst mir recht viel Freude dadurch . . ." ; the next moment we are taking part in Goethe's discussions with Schiller and with many another one of his closest and most highly regarded friends on the subtlest and the most basic problems in theme and form for the various genres of literature, or on art and life in general.

Noone who has not himself groped through the maze of Goethe's collected letters in the Weimar or in some of the other voluminous editions, who has not been puzzled by the frequent allusions to the most ephemeral events and obscure personages, can possibly appreciate to the full the very great service rendered to one and all through Fairley's informed selection and highly illuminating "Notes on the Text" which address themselves so consistently to the really troublesome passages and furnish most valuable cross-references, virtues not often found among the common run of "explanatory" annotations.

It is rather a pity that Fairley has failed to normalize Goethe's spelling, for this omission may well stand in the way of a broad adoption of the text for classroom use on the intermediate level of instruction. Evidently the editor judged the gain of such normalization not worth the loss it would entail both in the quaint charm of the original and in value to the specialist. The general make-up of the volume lives up in every respect to the standards set by *Blackwell's German Texts*. Both the editor and the publisher are to be congratulated on a valuable contribution to the enjoyment and study of German life and letters.

Columbia University

ANDRÉ VON GRONICKA

Barker Fairley, *Heinrich Heine, An Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954. 176 pp. \$2.40). IT was an ingenious idea to collect the most frequently recurring imagery of Heine, scanning his pages with the patient assiduity of a conscientious candidate for the Ph. D. degree and filling card cases with lengthy excerpts from the poet; but it took Mr. Fairley's light touch to gather the extracts in seven lively chapters, originals and English renderings, each chapter just long enough so as not to tire the reader with constant

repetition. "Image may not be the best word with which to describe them; theme or motif might serve as well, or any such word that allowed for the coming and going at any moment." We have all, no doubt, been aware of these curious palinodies in Heine, but few have probably observed the consistency with which they permeate the whole of his work, verse and prose. In Mr. Fairley's seven chapters they are brought together for us in concentrated profusion, "Song within Song," "Music and Dance," "Chorus and Procession," "Theatre and Ceremony," "Carnival and Costume," "Animals," "Heaven and Hell," sometimes interpenetrating and enhancing each other, especially when the theatre image is used or when Heaven and Hell put on an extraordinary ceremony on Doomsday.

Although "design, continuity, structure, a coherent view or vision . . . seems to be remote," Mr. Fairley proves convincingly that the capriciousness of Heine's nature is cultivated, for the imagery is well integrated and exists in his earliest works, better developed there in his prose, and crystallizes to regular fable in his late poetry. And there seems to be "an order of imagination, and therefore a creative order, an artistic one," a judgment with which the reviewer not only heartily agrees but he even believes that a certain musical thematic structure may be detected in some of the essays, such as *Die Nordsee III* (see *Monatshefte* 34, 401-415, 1942).

It might be a rewarding task to investigate with the help of Mr. Fairley's collection the gradation of Heine's imagery, from simple pun to elucidating wit, from sarcasm to sardonic laughter, from aggressive irony to flashes of deep tragic irony. Some of the latter, it seems to me, Mr. Fairley has slighted. The *Schöpfungslieder* are not all a near-failure; there is number 7 in which Heine expresses with laconic detachment in eight lines the motive for creation, as Grillparzer expands it in his Gastein elegy. The *Unterwelt* cycle is not a mere burlesque when we understand it with the tragedy of Mathilde in mind and with Heine's surprising understanding of this tragedy in number 5: for her, those Chopins, Gautiers, Balzacs, de Nervals around their dinner table must often have had a desperate similarity with the judges of Hades and her own spouse with the King of the Shades. But the most poignant example of ceremonial orgia in nocturnal band is that procession of afterwalkers who find their rousting place in the dead poet's empty skull, which the poet's mummied hand sometimes at dawn seeks to record (*Lazarus III*), a macaber phantasy of unexcelled tragic power.

We agree, however, with Mr. Fairley's conclusions in his eighth and last chapter, that Heine's borrowings generally mean enhancements of the goods of others, that his early lied is overworked, that the *Nordseebilder* are overburlesqued, that his later work is the far more lasting and is "his supreme achievement by our imagery test," and that he was fundamentally a social writer. I hesitate to say that he was altogether an extrovert.

It would not surprise us if Mr. Fairley's last rollicking pages were written at the time of a certain coronation; but we do smile, perhaps, at seeing that the book was so handsomely published at Oxford by the Clarendon Press. Heine's "comic-poetic survey of the world is as alive today as when he made it."

The Johns Hopkins University

ERNST FEISE

Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. Seifert, *A Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German* (Marburg: Becker, 1954. 64 pp.). INTEREST in the Pennsylvania German dialect would seem to be on the upswing. This is true both here and abroad, as evidenced by the publication of two grammars (Frey, Buffington and Barba) in the United States since 1942, and on the continent, in the work of Heinz Kloss and other scholars who by remote control are holding the pulse of a dying dialect. The authors of the present work, Professors Reed (University of Washington) and Seifert (University of Wisconsin) have already contributed several basic items to this growing list of Pennsylvania German studies.

The *Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German* follows up work already published by the authors, as well as by Professor Albert F. Buffington of the Pennsylvania State University. Their carefully constructed maps, which include word-samplings from at least 100 Pennsylvania communities, illustrate the variation in dialect vocabulary and pronunciation in at least twelve counties of the Pennsylvania German speaking areas of Eastern and Central Pennsylvania. Included also are comparative examples from the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*. The volume will probably be received with more interest in Germany than in the United States, where previous work published by Seifert ("Lexical Differences between four Pennsylvania German Regions," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Volume XI (1946), pp. 155-176) and Professor Buffington ("Linguistic Variants in the Pennsylvania German Dialect," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore*

Society, Volume XIII (1948), pp. 217-252) covers the subject relatively completely and clearly without the use of maps. As the authors point out in their two-page introduction to the *Atlas*, "previous publication" accounts for the lack of explanatory text in the present volume.

Whatever the reasons, this complete lack of text accompanying the ninety maps poses some problems. It would have been invaluable, for example, to point out why such variants as "*Grabhof*" and "*Karrichhof*" exist in different parts of the Pennsylvania German area. Here is a case where religious patterns influenced lexical variation. The term "*Grabhof*," which is standard usage in the Mennonite-Amish-Brethren belts of Pennsylvania (the so-called "western" dialect area), stems from the fact that the "Plain People" had no "churches," only "meetinghouses," and very often their cemeteries were private burial grounds on their own farms. No attempt has been made, either, to use the rich historical tools available—the German wills and bilingual inventories of estates on file in the county courthouses, which show strong dialect influence. All of which illustrates the need for the sociological and historical as well as the strictly morphological approach to linguistics.

The authors have made no attempt, lastly, to determine the fascinating "r"-line in the dialect country, mapping the incidence of the rolled "r" which can be heard in both the dialect and the English spoken around Kutztown, and the English "r" which is heard to the west and north. The map of Pennsylvania German speech areas omits those in Clinton, Blair-Bedford, and Somerset Counties, and the authors have undertaken no samplings of dialect usages from the daughter colonies in Ohio, the Midwest, and Ontario, in some of which the German dialect brought from Pennsylvania by the pioneers has been spoken for a century or a century and a half. We continue to look forward to the ampler studies promised by our authors.

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DON YODER

Rudolf Stamm, ed., *Die Kunstformen des Barockzeitalters* (Bern: Francke, 1956. 447 pp.). THE fourteen essays in this volume, the result of a lecture series of a year ago, attempt once more to explain the backbreaking problem of the Baroque. The opening paper by Tintelnot is a clear survey and critique of the previous efforts to achieve a rational understanding of this general illusion. It is followed by a series of papers by Landolt, Boerlin, Hofer, Zürcher, Stadler, and Gurlitt on architecture, theater design, painting, sculpture and carving, and music, which are generally successful. The special application of theory to practice comes out very well in Boerlin's study of the Stiftskirche St. Gallen. In middle course, Strich makes a valiant attempt to transfer the principles of his predecessors to literature, and he is followed by a series of specialists on the literatures of Italy, Germany, France, and England. As one might expect, the principles, save in some isolated instances, fail to transfer, indicating once again that the search for baroque pattern in literature is fascinatingly hopeless. The latter section of the book can be summed up by a quote in Barth's rather good essay "Barock und die Philosophie von Leibnitz," (the reader substitutes *Barock* for *Gott*):

Man kann den höchsten Gott mit allen Namen nennen.
Man kann ihm wiederum nicht einen zuerkennen.

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D. C. ALLEN

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